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A Whitman Collector Destroys a Whitman Myth*

By CHARLES E. FEINBERG

THERE has always been an air of mystery about some of the early years of Walt Whitman, particularly those preceding the publication of *Leaves of Grass* in 1855. Whitman, himself, passed over these years quickly and inaccurately.

In the first Whitman biography, John Burroughs's *Walt Whitman as Poet and Person* (New York, 1869), there is a chapter titled "Personal Sketch." Part 3, pp. 82-83, begins

> In 1849 he [Whitman] began traveling. Passing down through Pennsylvania and Maryland, he crossed the Alleghanies, went aboard a small trading steamer at Wheeling, and by slow stages, and with many and long stoppages and detours, journeyed along and down the Ohio river. In the same manner, well pleased with western steamboat life and its scenes, he descended by degrees the Mississippi. In New Orleans he edited a newspaper, and lived there a year, when he again ascended the Mississippi to St. Louis; moved through that region, explored the Illinois river and the towns along its bank, and lingered some while in Wisconsin and among the great lakes; stopt north of the straits of Mackinaw, also at Niagara and in Canada. He saw Western and Northwestern nature

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and character in all their phases, and probably took there and then the decided inspiration of his future poetry.

After some two years, returning to Brooklyn, I trace him again trying his hand at a printer's occupation. He started a newspaper, first as weekly and then as daily. He sold out, and went into business as carpenter and builder, (his father's trade;) worked with his own hands at the rougher work, and built and sold moderate-priced houses.

In the next authoritative Whitman biography, written by Dr. Richard Maurice Bucke, *Walt Whitman* (Philadelphia, 1883), p. 24, the Burroughs book is quoted and the same story is repeated with slight variations:

After staying about a year in New Orleans, he visited various other parts of the South, and then turned North again. Ascending the Mississippi to St. Louis, he stayed there for a time, then journeyed to Chicago, to Milwaukee, and so up to the Straits of Mackinaw. From there, turning east and south, after lingering awhile at Detroit, he slowly descended the great lakes to Niagara, and with many lags and stoppages, crossed New York State and returned to Brooklyn.

In 1851 and '52 he published and edited a newspaper of his own, the "Freeman," in Brooklyn. He afterward built and sold moderate-sized houses. At this last business he made money, and if he had continued would probably have become rich. (He seems to have thought there was danger of this, and that was one reason, no doubt, why he gave it up.) Early in the fifties *Leaves of Grass* began to take a sort of unconscious shape in his mind. In 1854 he commenced definitely writing out the poems that were printed in the first edition. Though most of this period was occupied with the house-building speculations, he made frequent excursions down Long Island, and at times would remain away in some solitary place, by the sea-shore or in the woods, for weeks at a time.

Whitman read and corrected both of these manuscripts, but did not change the stories. Although it is true that Whitman did some of these things, the dates are wrong. In the Bucke galley proofs of these years with Whitman's autograph additions and corrections, the incorrect years and supposedly long absences from Brooklyn are left as Bucke and Burroughs set them down. More recent biographers of Whitman have corrected the dates

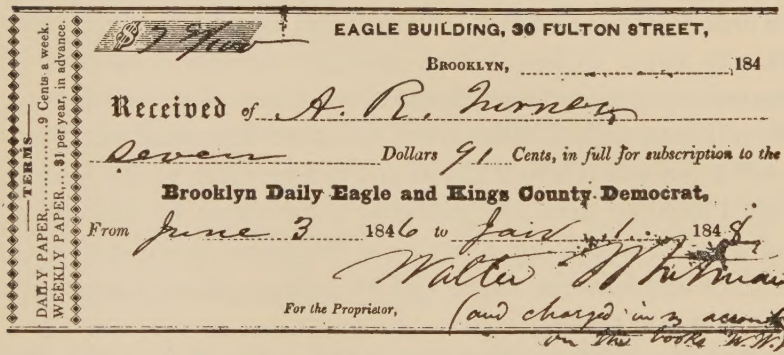
and added more details about this period, some rather sketchily and others hinting at years of disappearance, mysterious travels and work as printer, bookseller and carpenter.

Forty years ago, I bought my first Walt Whitman letter. Since then, I have tried to acquire all available letters, postcards, checks, bills and documents, primarily to reconstruct Whitman's daily life and creative activity. A few years ago, when we issued our Detroit Whitman Exhibition Catalogue, we featured the items relating to the first publication of *Leaves of Grass* through the final Deathbed Edition. We included only a few manuscripts prior to 1855. Today, I have brought together a number of manuscripts and endorsed items dated from 1844 to May 15, 1855. These will, I believe, tell us about new areas of Whitman's activity in practical affairs and as a provider for his family. I shall mention dates and places to show where he was, when, and what he was doing, apart from his known newspaper work as editor and editorial writer and his literary efforts towards his book *Leaves of Grass*.

1844-1845. The earliest receipt I have is one dated November 20, 1844, to Walter Whitman for $25 on the purchase of a lot on Prince Street and signed "Austin Reeves." This transaction was subject to a mortgage held by the Long Island Insurance Company for $900. I also have the original document of indenture with a pencilled signature "Walter Whitman, Jr.-Eagle Office." A receipt dated May 16, 1845, from the Long Island Insurance Company to Walter Whitman for $31.50 for six months' interest is endorsed in Whitman's hand. On May 19 of the same year Whitman pays Austin Reeves $100 on the balance owing on the lot, and this receipt is also endorsed by Walt. These receipts suggest that he and not his father was the buyer of the lot on Prince Street. Subsequent receipts for interest and principal payments are all endorsed by Whitman. On June 25, 1847, Walt formally took over title to the house, assuming responsibility for the $900 mortgage. This is verified by the

fact that when Whitman was in New Orleans with his brother Jeff in the spring of 1848, he had Jeff write to their mother on March 27 to make the interest payment due May 1 by withdrawing the money from his bank account. That payment receipt I also have.

1846. There are two items for 1846. The first is a receipt for a subscription to *The Brooklyn Daily Eagle and Kings County Democrat* from June 3, 1846, to January 1, 1848, signed "Walter


EAGLE BUILDING, 30 FULTON STREET,

BROOKLYN, ... 184

Received of A. R. Turner

Seven Dollars 91 Cents, in full for subscription to the

Brooklyn Daily Eagle and Kings County Democrat,

From June 3 1846 to Jany 1 1848

Walter Whitman

For the Proprietor, (and charged in my account on the books W.W.)

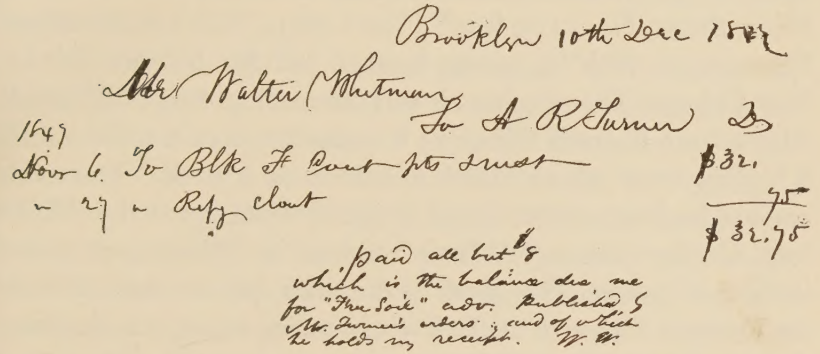
TERMS—DAILY PAPER.....9 Cents a week. WEEKLY PAPER....$1 per year, in advance.

1846 June 3. Receipt for a subscription to *The Brooklyn Daily Eagle and Kings County Democrat*, entirely in the autograph of Walt Whitman. On the verso, Whitman has written the name "A. R. Turner".

Whitman" with the added note "and charged to my account on the books" and initialed "W.W." On the verso, Whitman has written the name of the subscriber, "A. R. Turner." In March 1846 Whitman had become editor of *The Brooklyn Eagle.* During March, April and May, Whitman purchased from John D. Chase, Brooklyn, a silver watch for $10, a gold ring for $6.50, a gold pencil for $5.25, a carnelian pin, some thimbles and a purse. He returned the pencil and Whitman notes, "paid in full & account balanced. W.W.," and endorses on the verso the name of the dealer and the date, "July 1st, 1846 & paid."

1847. For 1847 I have nine items, all of them endorsed. Whitman continued as editor of *The Brooklyn Eagle* and active in

"Free Soil" politics. A receipt dated April 9 is for "18 gilt frames $10.06," possibly for his office at the *Eagle*. May 1, a receipt for "$56 for mason work." The same date, his interest payment to the Long Island Insurance Company. On June 16 he pays a bill to John Grebel for new boots for his brothers and for boot and shoe repairs. Items cover the first six months of the year and include "Soled & heeled for Brother-62 cents; Boots repaired for Brother-12 cents; New boots brother-3.25; New boots $5.50"


Brooklyn 10th Dec 1847
Mr Walter Whitman
To A R Turner Dr
1847
Nov 6. To Blk F Coat—pts & vest — $32.
" 27 " Ruff coat —75
$32.75
paid all but $ which is the balance due me for "Free Soil" advt. published by Mr. Turner's orders; and of which he holds my receipt. W. W.

1847 December 10. A bill from A. R. Turner, for a frock coat, pants and vest, $32.00, with an added 75 cents for repairs. The notation is written by Whitman. On the verso, Whitman has written "A. R. Turner, Dec. 1847. $32.75. Paid."

[these might have been for himself]. The full bill was $19.16, and Whitman noted, "Paid in full W.W." Another interest payment was made November 1. On November 20, a bill for a bureau for $5.50 with a note by Whitman on the verso, "Mr. V. A.: if convenient please pay this bill, & charge the same to me, W. Whitman." The bill is marked paid and endorsed. November 23, a bill for "hanging a bell with engraved plate, night latch & 2 numbers" totaled $7.42 and shows credit by advertisement $3.50, written "paid in full W.W." On December 10, a bill from A. R. Turner, who had subscribed to *The Brooklyn Daily Eagle* the previous year, for a frock coat, pants and vest, $32,

with an added 75 cents for repairs. A notation by Whitman reads: "paid all but $8 which is the balance due me for 'Free Soil' adv. Published by Mr. Turner's orders and of which he holds my receipt. W.W." The final statement of the year is dated December 15 and covers small purchases of nails and screws, pipes and other hardware.

1848. Whitman was through as editor of *The Brooklyn Eagle* in January. I have a City of Brooklyn receipted tax bill dated February 1848, no day of the month, for one lot and house in Prince Street, No. 23 on Sam'l Fleet's Map. Walt left Brooklyn February 11 with his young brother Jeff for his new job in New Orleans. The next item is very interesting. It is a bill dated May 1 from P. Irwin "To [*sic*] 8 weeks & 2 days Board for self & brother from 4th of March to date at $9 a week." The total amount has been corrected and written over to $70.00 by Whitman. On the verso is "P. Irwin" written by Whitman and two outlines of houses. This gives us the exact date he moved from the Fremont House to the P. Irwin boarding house in Lafayette, then a suburb of New Orleans.

Whitman returned to Brooklyn on June 15, 1848. This is the correct date, despite the Burroughs and Bucke biographies and Whitman's corrected proof of Dr. Bucke's book, which did not correct the earlier mistakes. (We know it is correct from Whitman's own statement in *November Boughs* and from other evidence cited by later biographers.) Judge Samuel E. Johnson and other Brooklyn Free-Soilers wanted to start a newspaper to oppose the *Eagle*. A list of subscribers is dated July 11 to establish the *Banner of Freedom,* a newspaper "which shall oppose the extension of slavery and support for elective offices, persons who will advocate the same." At the end of the list, Judge Johnson has signed a paragraph written by Whitman, reading "I have paid my subscription to Mr. Whitman, who is going on with the paper, and should recommend the others above also pay theirs to Mr. W." There are marginal notations in pencil by Whitman

listing names and addresses of subscribers. On the verso Whitman has written, "List of subscribers to start newspaper," and two names, "E. Corning, and H. D. Varick, Poughkeepsie, N. Y."

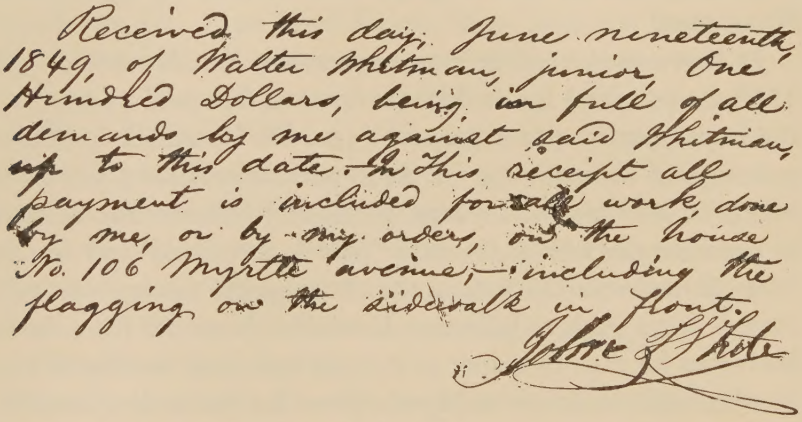
The name *Banner of Freedom* was never used; it was changed to *Brooklyn Freeman*, published under Whitman's editorship beginning with the issue of Saturday, September 9, 1848. That night, a general fire destroyed the building in which the *Freeman* was published and the newspaper did not start up again until November.

In November, another interest payment. On November 30, 1848, he bought a lot on Myrtle Avenue. He paid $1,000 for the lot, subject to a mortgage of $550. On December 6, Whitman signs a demand note for $400 with interest at 7 per cent, which he borrows from Judge Johnson. Whitman has written in pencil on the face of the note "paid & cancelled," and on the verso he endorses the note in ink. Because the money was borrowed from Judge Johnson, I assume it could have been borrowed for the newspaper or it could have been used by Whitman to build the house on Myrtle Street for his family. Another bill, dated December 18, for nails, tin, a stone and other hardware, is marked "Paid."

1849. The first item for 1849 is a note written and signed by Whitman "to pay $25 as rent of store in Granada Hall." Whitman planned a series of lectures on diet, exercise and health. The rental of the store in Granada Hall may have been for this purpose. (Item No. 81, *Walt Whitman Catalogue*, Library of Congress, 1955.)

In his introduction to *The Uncollected Poetry and Prose of Walt Whitman* (Garden City, N. Y., 1921) Emory Holloway states, "Since Whitman's whereabouts can now be stated definitely for the period before September, 1849 and for that after June, 1850, whereas we know nothing of his movements between those dates, it seems to me very likely that a second trip South was made in

the fall of 1849." It is my intention, by listing the dates of the following bills and receipts, to narrow the unknown period of Whitman's whereabouts. The note mentioned above is marked "Due March 8, 1850" and in pencil by Whitman "paid & cancelled." A Brooklyn assessment in January, an interest payment in March, another interest payment in May, a bill for 43 yards of carpet in May; bills for a bathtub and wallpaper, another receipt written by Whitman, signed by John White "for all work


Received this day, June nineteenth, 1849, of Walter Whitman, junior, One Hundred Dollars, being in full of all demands by me against said Whitman, up to this date. In this receipt all payment is included for all work done by me, or by my orders, on the house No. 106 Myrtle avenue, including the flagging on the sidewalk in front.
John White

1849 June 19. Receipt written by Walt Whitman, signed by John White, "for all work . . . on the house No. 106 Myrtle Avenue." On the verso, "John White, Receipt in full", written by W. W.

on the house No. 106 Myrtle Ave., including the flagging on the sidewalk in front," and a bill for stove and fixtures for a small printing office—all these for June. The bill for the printing shop was part of the cost of converting the street floor of the Myrtle Avenue house into a bookstore and printing shop. Whitman promoted the printing of an advertising sheet named *The Salesman*, and some of the bills of this period show part of the accounts paid by "advertising" and printing. This particular bill was paid by the printing of 500 cards. I mentioned a receipt to John White. On June 19, 1849, the records show that Walt sold the Prince

Street house to White for $1,800. This sale, by the way, made Walt a profit of $600.

During the summer of 1849 Whitman was again having trouble in keeping political support for *The Freeman,* and on September 11 he resigned as editor. During October, another group of items: a bill for wallpaper, paid October 10; a bill for hardware, paid October 15; an interest receipt written by Whitman and signed Clark Jacob, October 16; and a bill of A. Ayres, Tailor, "Repairing a jacket, a pair of pants for a brother, a suit for his father, a silk cravat and cutting vest for his brother," dated October 29. Whitman paid the bill by "advertising, the sale of a family bible & cash." And on December 18, 1849, he bought a pair of boots from Grebel, shoemaker. I believe these dates prove that Walt Whitman did not make a second trip South in the fall of 1849.

1850. In March, Whitman wrote another receipt for $105, being interest on mortgage and signed by Clark Jacob. Also in March, two more bills from Grebel, shoemaker. We also have bills for April and June. Whitman writes a memorandum, "I travelled one summer leisurely and Bohemianly over the east end of Long Island (? 1850)—and wrote a series of letters to a New York paper—This is one of them (see the back of this also)." The pointed finger is directed to a newspaper column headed "(Original) *Letters From a Travelling Bachelor. Number IV.*" On the verso, Whitman has written "1850—I occasionally wrote for a N. Y. Sunday paper—this is one of the pieces (Sunday Dispatch)." The column is titled "Is there any Hope?," and is not signed. Another unusual item is a notation made by Whitman, "Joe, Jeff & Bill, Daguerretype [*sic*] Sept. 27, 1850." October 10, one more interest receipt written by Whitman and signed by Clark Jacob. Little is known about Whitman's activities as a bookseller and stationer along with his printing. Some time during 1850 (and I wish he had dated the list) he sold S. Knae-

bel a list of articles, which he itemizes. The 30 articles total $12.31 and include "History-American Revolution," "Lucy Books," "Love & Parentage," spelling book, "Phrenological Guide," and "How to be a Lady."

1851. Walt Whitman was busy during 1851 in Brooklyn with his printing shop, his bookstore, and the articles he wrote for *The Brooklyn Advertiser* and *The New York Post.* We have 18 bills and receipts for this year: a Brooklyn tax bill, dated March 20; another autograph receipt by Whitman for interest and signed by Clark Jacob; a receipt for $50 for type from Wells & Webb; a receipt, dated July 12, written by Whitman for the purchase of a large old painting (a colossal human figure), a Britannia teapot and a round clock; a statement for stationery supplies from a wholesale house, Huestis & Cozans; and a bill for dishes and cutlery, presumably for his mother. This last item has a notation written by Whitman, "By bargain between Mr. Muchmore and myself, this bill is paid by 2 months insertion of large adv. in 'Salesman.' This adv. goes in during August & Sept. 1851. W. Whitman"; and a subsequent note, "Nov. 4th. The within bill is paid in full. W.W." In July, a bill from Fowler & Wells for the wholesale purchase of books to sell. A curious receipt for the purchase of a guitar from C. L. Heyde for $12. Charles Louis Heyde the next year married Walt's sister Hannah, and Walt years later referred to him as a "miserable whelp." Bills for a Regimental coat; from Wells & Webb for type; from John Chase for a watch; bill for some mason work; another bill from Fowler & Wells with a note, "We happen to be out of the Student at this time—Shall have a supply in a few days." A bill for tumblers and brushes, a bill for ice, for some more carpeting, and another tailor's bill for clothes for the family. This last, dated December 12, has a Whitman notation, "My confident impression is that two articles marked * on this bill, or one of them positively, was or were paid at the time. W.W."

Writing newspaper articles, doing odd jobs of printing, selling books and stationery, and placing advertising helped Whitman during 1851 to contribute the necessities and some small luxuries in supporting his family. Of course, there are in existence many more bills, statements and letters verifying Whitman's physical presence in Brooklyn during these years. All the items that I mention are from my own collection, with the exception of the few from other named collections.

1852. For this year we have over 50 items, and there are several at Duke University in the Trent Whitman Collection. Their dates begin January 5 and continue through every month; they were written either in Brooklyn or New York and each one is endorsed by Walt Whitman. They cover a wide range: bills for the home, for bread and cake (I checked the date, thinking it might have been a birthday or anniversary—it wasn't), bills for boots and rubbers for brother and himself, tax bills, a bill for two tons of coal, a receipt in Whitman's autograph for the purchase of "one large old fashioned Hall clock, upright case $22, another black cloth frock coat $10." He traded a lot in Cypress Hills, plus $65, for a melodeon. On May 4 he wrote a refund from himself returning "$30, being the money paid for quarters' rent—on agreement that I shall vacate & give up possession of the rooms to Mr. Whitman, on the 17th of May instant." It is signed "John M. Cornwell."

While Whitman may not have worked too hard at being a businessman, he seems to have bought and sold houses and traded lots. This activity began in 1847 with the purchase of the house on Prince Street; in 1848 he bought the lot on Myrtle Street and built another home. On May 14, 1852, he started on another building venture by buying a lot on Cumberland Street for $800 cash. Whitman endorsed the Certificate of Sale with complete detail. The June 2 receipt for the deed again has a complete endorsement. On June 12 Whitman paid the bill for the

survey and prepared a detailed estimate for building a two-story house and shop on the adjoining lot. On June 1, 1852, Walt sold the Myrtle Avenue house for $3,500.

One wonders who saves all these papers and how they survive. I can't give you all the answers, but the next item is an unusual one. In *The Brooklyn Daily Eagle*, June 10, 1846, Whitman writes an article on "Bathing—Cleanliness—Personal Beauty" in which he praises the construction of a new and handsome Swimming Bath operated by Edward Gray. Whitman was a regular patron of Gray's "Swimming Bath" during the period of his editorship of *The Eagle* and must have continued as a regular customer of Gray, for I have the 1852 Season Ticket made out to Walter Whitman and signed by Edward Gray. I assume the reason for its survival is that Whitman used it on June 13 to write a receipt for $100 he had just given as the first instalment on a contract for mason work; it is signed "Lucky & Vankeuren." On June 19 he wrote a more formal receipt, which I also have. Despite the offhand manner in writing the receipt on the back of the "Swimming Bath" ticket, Whitman the next day, June 14, wrote out in detail specifications of mason work to be done by the firm Lucky and Vankeuren, which included "Stone Wall for cellar, Chimneys and fireplaces, Plastering, Cistern, Privy, Cess Pool, Flagging in front," etc., etc. The agreement was written on a long 36-inch sheet of blue paper consisting of many sections pasted together and signed by the owners of the firm. At the bottom the receipt is written by Whitman and signed by Lucky and Vankeuren for part of the work done to July 10, 1852. On the verso are eight more receipts, each written by Whitman and signed by representatives of the firm as work progressed. The last entry reads: "Paid Mr. Lucky Saturday April 22 Twenty Dollars. The above sum of $800 has been paid Messrs Lucky and Vankeuren in full with the exception of a balance of $5 due." Also on June 14, Whitman wrote the agreement between "M. S. Scofield," a carpenter, and "Walt Whitman, Jr." for "framing,

and setting partitions, enclosing with weather boards, furnish windows and outside door frames . . . for the sum of six hundred and thirty five dollars— . . . to pay in certain instalments . . . and the balance when the job is complete," followed by four receipts for part-payment signed by Scofield June 26, July 3, July 17 and September 6, 1852.

These and other specifications written by Whitman in his dealings with different contractors and other businessmen showed his journalistic experience in that every detail is spelled out in plain language to avoid controversy. Another contract made about the same time written by Whitman contains the specifications "for Flooring, Partitions, Casings, Stair Rail, Basement Stairs, Shed Roof, Stoop & Door Yard. . . . For the above Walt Whitman furnishes all the materials, wood and hardware." Endorsed: "Specifications with Selleck."

On July 10, he secures a two-year warrantee on a piano which he buys for $180, and some time in July at Hoboken he weighs himself and makes a record, "187" (pounds). On July 30, he guarantees the note of M. S. Scofield for $250 to be paid by September 1. Duke University has an autograph MS. showing three items: the first is dated July 31, 1852, "Mr. Scofield owes W.W. for eleven days work."; the second, August 14, "Inclusive of to-day—(half a day for the week ending Aug 7th)—six days and a half—altogether 17½ days"; the last, August 21, "Made full week the past week (Scofield owes for 23½ days) $26.42." Most biographers have used this manuscript to support their stories of Whitman as a carpenter.

It has been assumed that these notes proved that Whitman as a carpenter was doing some work for Scofield. The fact is that Scofield was a contractor working for Whitman on the construction of the two houses on Cumberland Street. I have a full-page agreement, dated September 11, outlining in detail the work to be done in building the stairs and partitions, the contract price and the date the work is to be finished. It is written in full by

Whitman and signed by Scofield. This contradicts the general assumption that Whitman ever worked for daily wages as a carpenter.

On August 2, Scofield sends Whitman a note, "please pay to James Sickels [*sic*] $31.65 and charge to me." Whitman writes on the face of this request, "I accept this order and promise to pay the same. Walter Whitman." On the verso, Whitman writes, "This sucker & Liar won't pay this bill. Walter Whitman." On August 20, a Mr. H. A. Spafard assisted Walt Whitman in securing a loan of $2,000 on his house and lot on Cumberland Street and charged him 1 per cent. Walt paid him $12 on the 20th and the balance of $8 the next day. For September 4, we have a bill from the tinsmith Benj. Wilson for $90.22. Another bill is endorsed, "Duryea's Bill of Stuff for the Stairs, 16.60." There is an assessment for gas in Myrtle Street.

In October Whitman receives a bill for gas mantles from John H. Keyser & Co. He pays the bill, but notes on the back: "To the best of my recollection the shelves were to be but $2 a piece [they had charged him $2.50] and the brackets 50 cts a shelf for putting them up. The brackets were furnished by me and are not to be charged for by Mr. Keyser. W.W." He was right. There is a separate bill for brackets from V. V. D. Wyckoff. Whitman seems to have furnished other materials. There is a bill for paint and oils, for wallpapers and mouldings. October 18, Scofield writes a request to Whitman to pay Daniel Fesberg $10.12. Whitman paid him and writes a receipt which Fesberg signs. On October 23, Scofield signs a receipt written by Whitman. October 26, a bill for a bedstead. In November he was billed for a few hundred feet of flagging, and in December for eight doors. During 1852, Whitman had a shop at the corner of Cumberland Street and Atlantic Avenue. The sign bore the legend "Carpenter & Builder." (I have an original photograph of the shop.) 1852 had been a busy year.

1853. Whitman at this time was working on his first long

poem, "Pictures." (The manuscript is now in the Adrian Van Sinderen Whitman Collection at the Yale University Library.) His family was living comfortably in the new house on Cumberland Street. Walt was still paying bills. I have about 50 items written or endorsed by Whitman from January through November, all dated from New York or Brooklyn.

On January 1, 1853, Whitman bought another lot on Cumberland Street. For the first time, despite all his real estate dealings, there is a lawyer's bill for "title search, bonds & mortgages, affidavits & recording deeds." Scofield's bill for $853 covers a number of contracts. Early in February Whitman decided to sell the home they were living in. On February 9, Whitman placed an ad in *The New York Sun*, "4 lines, 24 times, $4.00"; on February 18, an ad in *The New York Daily Times* to sell "House, 2 weeks, $2." Ayres, the tailor, gave him a receipt for $10. The City of Brooklyn receipts a tax bill, endorsed by Whitman, "for Taxes on Red Houses in Cumberland St." Whitman continued his efforts to sell the house. He placed another ad in the New York *Staats-Zeitung*, "Genteel House for sale, 2 months in daily & Sunday papers, $6.50. Interest to Whitman on the house nearest Atlantic Ave."

Before Walt sold the house he was living in, he started to build another. On March 12, he draws up a new agreement and specifications with a new contractor, M. N. Hedges. On another receipt two days later, March 14, we get the size of the new house. It is to be "a small building, Two Stories, 16 x 26 on the ground—work to be finished so that W. Whitman can move in on the 16th April—[signed] Lucky & Vankeuren." Whitman has drawn a separate agreement with specifications, which the contractor signs. There are a number of bills during the balance of March being paid for work on the old house, and another agreement with Hedges for $335 for additional work on the new house, with receipts of various dates in March and April on the verso. By April 11 the new house was roofed and the bill for

tin roofing presented. Apparently, Whitman had good credit: he seemed to meet no difficulty in having material delivered on credit and in making contractor agreements. Most of the bills are for building, but occasionally there is a personal one such as Ayres, the tailor, billing Whitman for a "Blk Cloth Jacket & fancy pants & a double Breasted Vest," dated May 14.

So many bills have been cited that it may be difficult to recall that on August 2, 1852, when Whitman was requested by Scofield to pay James Sickel $31.65, Whitman wrote on the verso, "This sucker & Liar won't pay this bill." Whitman must have kept after this man Sickel because on June 4, 1853, Whitman writes out a receipt, "Received of Walter Whitman Jr. Thirty one dollars and sixty five cents, being payment of an order of M. S. Scofield, in full of all demands. [Signed] James Sickel."

There were also bills for lumber and receipts for payments on construction agreements, dated through June, July, August and September. In September, a milk bill paid to October 1. A number of contractor's receipts written by Whitman, paid in October and November. A personal notation for November 18. A World's Fair had opened in New York on July 4, 1853, which Americans compared to the English Crystal Palace, and it was later called the Crystal Palace Exhibition. Whitman wrote about it with enthusiasm. The notation I have merely says, "Nov. 18, 1853 Crystal Palace, 179." This indicates that he had lost eight pounds since he had last recorded his weight in Hoboken in July 1852.

I realize this has been mostly a recital of dates and ordinary everyday affairs. But these years have been years in which biographers of Whitman have not had available very much factual information and, in most cases, have glossed over very quickly. During this time when Whitman was involved with his businesses and work on newspapers, he was also gathering material and writing on the history of the City of Brooklyn, which he started about 1850. And, of course, he was writing trial lines of

poetry. These years are important years because they led to his writing *Leaves of Grass.*

1854. Emory Holloway in his *Uncollected Poetry and Prose of Walt Whitman* (Garden City, N. Y., 1921, II, 88) refers to a Whitman manuscript memorandum in the Bucke Collection, giving dates concerning Whitman's Brooklyn residences. "Sold the two 3-story houses in Cumberland Street, March 1853. Moved into the little 2-story house Cumberland St. April 21st, '53 (lived there one year exactly). Built in Skillman St., and moved there May, 1854." I haven't seen the manuscript, but Holloway's information seems to be fairly accurate. Possibly other Whitman papers of this year can be found to fill in the year in greater detail, yet I think we have in 20 odd items of 1854 enough to reconstruct much of what happened. On January 14, 1854, Smith and Selleck give him a statement of work done—the charges and cash payments and a balance still owing of $20.48, which he subsequently pays. On February 1, he signs a promissory note for 30 days. The outstanding feature of the note is that it is one of the finest Whitman signatures I have ever seen. Another receipt for lumber from the same firm. A receipt to him for delivering deed to a piece of property "for the purpose of making an abstract of title." A receipt for a hardware bill, March 21; a bill for a pair of "Footings, cork soled & the repairs of 2 pairs of boots"—April 10; and on April 18, Whitman writes out a rental form "for the lower part, consisting of first floor & basement of house in Skillman Street, west side, 100 ft. north of Myrtle Ave.—by the month to commence the 20th day of April, 1854 at the monthly rent of eight dollars monthly in advance. Charlotte A. Wilson." On the verso, Whitman has written a complete receipt, which Mrs. Wilson signs. This confirms the date given by Whitman as the one on which they had moved from Cumberland Street. However, on May 20, Whitman paid another month's rent and received a receipt. On June 20, Whitman paid $4.00 for rent to July 10.

On May 3, Whitman had made an agreement with Smith and Selleck to build another house for him on Skillman Street, totalling $780. On June 3, Whitman writes a receipt "for $100 as first payment on work on Skillman St. [Signed] Smith & Selleck." August 7, there is another bill from Grebel, the shoemaker, made out to Mrs. Whitman, but paid by Walt. August 19, a statement "for Searching," which I assume is title or abstract searching, and "Commission for obtaining loan." August 22, a receipt "for a payment of four hundred & fifty dollars . . . on account of building house on Skillman Street as agreement. —Smith & Selleck."

October 11, a receipt for $20, and on November 3, a receipt from Mrs. Wilson for "2 dollars in full for rent to date." On November 9, another receipt from Smith and Selleck. Apparently, Whitman had changed his mind about the layout of the house which is being built. On November 14, he writes a new agreement with Charles Burton "Transposing front door to wall between rooms and back window to place of door, weatherboarding under it, removing stoop in front, finishing and setting door in their places, complete in every respect." The agreement goes into detail and concludes, "the job to be done by the 1st of December, unless prevented by bad weather or sickness." On the verso, three receipts written by Whitman, signed by Charles Burton, and endorsed by Whitman. On November 25, another agreement "for plastering upper part of house, one coat and slipped, also finishing below where the door & window are changed, putting in two thimble, and repairing walk of privy." On December 30, 1854, the final receipt of the year "for two hundred dollars in full for carpenter's work & all other demands up to this date. Smith & Selleck." On the verso Whitman has endorsed the receipt in pencil. There is also a curious notation on the verso in ink, "Estimate for Thompson house. 25..6 x 38 July 19/54."

1855. I have only two items for the first half of 1855, a receipt for an interest payment of $26.25 on April 7 and the item

that closed a chapter of Whitman's first thirty-six years of life and opened another world to him for the rest of his years.

On May 15, 1855, Walt Whitman walked into the clerk's office of the Southern District Court of New York and asked the Clerk, George F. Betts, to give him the exact wording necessary to print for copyright purposes in his forthcoming first book. Betts was kind enough to write the words for him and to register the title *Leaves of Grass*. The entry is in the Southern District

Entered according to Act of Congress
in the year 1855 by Walter Whitman
in the Clerks office of the District Court
of the United States for the Southern
District of New York.

Mr. Willmarth

1855 May 15. Manuscript copyright notice for First Edition of *Leaves of Grass*, written by George F. Betts, Clerk. The name of "Mr. Willmarth" written in pencil by Walt Whitman. On the verso, an address "58 Barclay", also written in pencil by W. W.

Court Journal of 1855, now in the National Archives. I have the original wording for the copyright notice written by Betts. The name of Willmarth, written by Whitman on the notice, was the name of a lawyer living in Williamsburgh (now Brooklyn), who was also a clerk in the same court.

Some biographers have treated Whitman as a careless idler, a drifter, a loafing dreamer, who never took his meals on time and worked only when he felt like it. What I have tried to say is that Whitman was a very practical young man, devoted to his family, making money to support them and being modestly successful in business matters. By 1855, he felt that he was ready to publish

his *Leaves of Grass* and deliberately turned his back on all of his money making ventures, to do what he felt he was born to do, to be a writer, the poet and singer of America's songs, the architect of the American Dream.

The "Famous *Boston Post* List":*
Mid-Nineteenth Century American Bestsellers

By Harrison T. Meserole

NEARLY forty years after Sydney Smith's tart comment on American literature had appeared in the *Edinburgh Review*, the *Boston Post* printed a series of articles entitled "Who Reads an American Book?" Although their title implies that these articles are merely another of the answers to Smith—answers which had over the years appeared by the dozens in the American periodical press—a content of more significance to the student of nineteenth-century American book publishing is indicated in the first article:

> It is pretty definitely settled, I believe, that Washington Irving's "Sketch Book" first fairly answered this somewhat saucy question, as asked by Rev. Sydney Smith, in the Edinburgh Review, some forty years ago. The inquiry might, in our day, more properly be put—"Who *doesn't* read an American book," if there be any truth in some figures I have collected, from the most reliable sources, to illustrate this interesting subject. I have limited means of learning the statistics of the Boston and Philadelphia book trade, in this regard; but those furnished herewith may serve to show what New York has done and is doing toward sustaining the reputation and extensive circulation of a national literature. Some indications of the public taste and its demands are also afforded by such facts as I propose to present. The other large cities will be found to have contributed immensely to the education and entertainment of the people, if the figures can be obtained and collated; and it would seem to be a subject worthy of some *litterateurs* attention, thus to collect and digest such information gathered from the prominent publishers throughout the country.[1]

Despite its value, no accurate report of this material has seen

* Frank Luther Mott, *Golden Multitudes* (New York, 1947), p. 299.

[1] *Boston Post*, October 25, 1859.

print. A move in the right direction was made in 1929 by Downing Palmer O'Harra when he contributed to *Publishers' Weekly* a series of papers on "Book Publishing in the United States to 1860." In his third article,[2] Mr. O'Harra included a list of authors, works, and sales figures obtained from the *American Publishers' Circular and Literary Gazette*;[3] the *Circular* list, in turn, was a reprint of selected entries from a series of articles which had appeared, according to the *Circular*, in the *Boston Post* "about three years ago."[4]

Because it is a selection of entries representing only a fraction of the original number, the *Circular* list is of limited value. And Mr. O'Harra's reprint of this list, it must be pointed out, is of even less value because of inaccuracies in transcription. Moreover, Mr. O'Harra rearranged the *Circular* list so that its titles would appear in the order of number of copies reported sold. There is no quarrel with his method of organization, but in the process of rearrangement, titles whose sales figures in the *Circular* list had been followed by the words "annually sold" or "present annual sales" had this designation deleted and were assigned places in the O'Harra list on the basis of unqualified sales figures. For example, James Fenimore Cooper's novels occur near the end of Mr. O'Harra's list with reported sales of 50,000 copies; the *Circular* had labeled this figure "present annual sales." There are several other such omissions which, when added to the transcription errors noted above, make the O'Harra list a misleading one.

That Mr. O'Harra had not seen the original *Boston Post* articles seems clear from his explanatory note which prefaced his reprint of the *Circular* list,

> a list of works published and widely sold in the United States from co-

[2] *Publishers' Weekly*, CXV (March 23, 1929), 1500.

[3] I (June 15, 1863), 166-167.

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 166.

lonial times to 1860 with the approximate number of copies sold. The figures are reprinted by the *American Publishers' Circular* from a series of articles, in the Boston *Post* of 1860,[5]

and which supplied a final inaccuracy—the date of the original material.

It is doubtful, too, whether Frank Luther Mott, who has noted the existence of the *Boston Post* data,[6] has had access to the original articles; for although Professor Mott's text is meticulous in scholarship and valuable for its diagnosis of public taste in books, his footnote for the *Post* list errs when it follows O'Harra and states that the list was "reprinted in *Publishers' Weekly*."[7]

In 1859, a correspondent of the *Boston Post,* who signed himself "Nor'wester," wrote a series of "Letters from New York," subtitled "Who Reads an American Book?" The first letter was printed on October 25; there were nine letters in all,[8] the last appearing in a December 31 supplement to the regular newspaper.

That these articles, as indicated by the subtitle, were merely an indignant rejoinder to Sydney Smith is not confirmed by their content, for there are data here concerning English, French, and Italian, as well as American, authors and books. Nor does it seem reasonable that Smith's barb, dulled by forty years, could by itself rankle sharply enough to spur the gathering of such a mass of data merely to "reply." A more satisfactory explanation for the appearance of the articles is a twofold one: the publication in 1858 of the first volume of Samuel Allibone's *A Critical Dictionary of English Literature,* in praise of which Nor'wester outdid

[5] *Publishers' Weekly,* CXV (March 23, 1929), 1500.

[6] *Golden Multitudes* (New York, 1947), p. 299.

[7] *Ibid.,* footnote, p. 299.

[8] Other articles in the series appeared on November 3, 9, 15, 23; on December 5, 12, 16, 31. Miss Gwen Staniforth of the Huntington Library uncovered for me the second and sixth articles in this series.

himself;[9] and the fact that the *Post* regularly devoted nearly a quarter of its total column space in each issue to book notices and reviews, publishers' announcements and advertisements, and other "literary" material. Although there are a few notable differences,[10] Nor'wester's sales figures agree well enough with Allibone's, if the time differential is accounted for in comparison. And when Nor'wester's floral tributes to the various publishers are noted,[11] there can be little doubt that the *Post* was, at least in part, writing bread-and-butter letters.

The *Boston Post* series, notwithstanding its wealth of data, is unwieldy, even maddening, source material as it stands, for Nor'wester rattled off his figures in the most haphazard fashion, using no clear system of organization except that of listing by publisher—and even that distinction, because of errors and omissions, is suspect. Only now and then did he give publication dates; only some of the authors' names appear. Short titles, perhaps familiar to 1859 *Post* readers, are in some instances ambiguous enough to defy positive identification.[12] Pseudonyms (and in many cases only a title and last name, e.g., Reverend Williams) cause repeated trips to Roorbach, Cushing, and Sabin.

For these reasons, and because complete runs of the 1859 *Boston Post* are not easily accessible, the articles have been reduced to the series of tables which follow. To facilitate reference, Nor'wester's system of listing by publisher has been continued. Full names of authors have been supplied, dates for the Ameri-

[9] To Nor'wester the *Dictionary* was "that world's wonder in literature," and a "monument of Allibone's patient toil and vast erudition."

[10] Compare Allibone's and Nor'wester's figures for *Uncle Tom's Cabin* and for Joseph E. Worcester's *Elements of History*.

[11] Sheldon & Co., for example, are characterized as having "untiring energy, grafted upon rare tact and talent." Childs & Peterson are "enterprising and discriminating," and Gould & Lincoln "have always commanded the confidence and appreciation of the public from the fact that the imprint of this house has never been affixed to any volume of even doubtful character."

[12] The short title, *Wild Scenes*, for example, could refer to any one of three books published by Saxton, Barker during the 1850's. The selection of Bennett's *Wild Scenes* was made after a comparison of Nor'wester's and Allibone's sales figures.

can books have been entered,[13] and pseudonyms have been identified. Where the short title given in the *Post* was ambiguous, a fuller title has been added. Obvious errors have been silently corrected.

The Library of Congress file of the *Boston Post* was used in preparing this material. I am grateful to Mr. George Hall, Serials Division, for his assistance.

Key to Symbols Used in Tables

v	volumes(s)
a	annual sales
f	sold thus far [up to 1859]
ta	sold this year [1859]
amc	average monthly circulation [periodicals]
subs	subscribers; subscriptions

N.B. Since all figures given by Nor'wester are clearly round figures, except those given for publications of the American Tract Society, it has been thought best to exclude further qualifying phrases such as "nearly," "more than," "at least," and "approximately" which preface many of Nor'wester's figures in the original articles.

Books written anonymously, and a few for which assiduous search has revealed no authors, are listed alphabetically by title at the end of each publisher's entries.

AMERICAN SUNDAY SCHOOL UNION

Author	*Title*		*Sales*
Hart, John S., ed.	The Banner	average monthly circulation	455,000
Hart, John S., ed.	The Gazette		
Hart, John S., ed.	The Times		
Number of distinct publications now on the A.S.S.U. list			1,200
Last Year [1859] the A.S.S.U. circulated			2,250,000v

AMERICAN TRACT SOCIETY

Abbott, Jacob	The Young Christian	57,733
Abbott, John S. C.	The Child at Home	197,221
Abbott, John S. C.	The Mother at Home	

[13] No attempt has been made to date the publications of the American Tract Society, of foreign authors, or of general titles such as "Works."

Author	*Title*		*Sales*
Alleine, Joseph	Alarm to Unconverted Sinners		232,927
Baxter, Richard	Call to the Unconverted		425,133
Baxter, Richard	Dying Thoughts		93,377
Baxter, Richard	Life of Baxter . . . from His Own Writings		89,631
Baxter, Richard	Saints' Everlasting Rest		222,394
Bunyan, John	Pilgrim's Progress		325,416
Doddridge, Philip	Rise and Progress of Religion		165,949
Edwards, Justin	Sabbath Manual		598,545
Edwards, Justin	Testament		109,000
Edwards, Justin	Testament and Psalms, with notes		90,000
Flavel, John	"Works," 6 v.		419,885
Pike, John Gregory	Guide for Young Disciples		110,253
Pike, John Gregory	Persuasives to Early Piety		138,472
Pike, John Gregory	Religion and Eternal Life		71,950
———	Advice to a Married Couple		137,043
———	Bible		12,000
———	Bound Volumes of Tracts		147,074
———	Home Evangelization		89,500
———	Peep of Day Series, 3 v.		183,000
———	Pocket Manuals, 14 kinds		1,258,552
———	Songs for the Little Ones at Home		194,000
———	Temperance Manual		177,375
———	Tract Primer		552,000
Libraries	Christian Library	(2,089 sets)	94,026
	Evangelical Family Library	(9,953 sets)	151,713
	Religious Library	(2,145 sets)	52,513
	Youth's Library	(5,020 sets)	351,733
	Youth's Scripture Biography	(20,605 sets)	167,092
Periodicals	*American Messenger* [in English and German]		223,000 amo
	The Child's Paper		300,000 amo
	Total circulation of these periodicals during the last year		6,456,000 copi

General

Since its establishment, total publications of the A.T.S.	199,645,362
During the past year, the A.T.S. printed	11,857,000
Since its establishment, total book sales of the A.T.S.	13,757,285 vols
During the past year, the A.T.S. printed	682,250 vols

D. Appleton & Company

Author	*Title*	*Sales*
Aguilar, Grace	Days of Bruce, 2 v. (1852)	31,000
Aguilar, Grace	The Mother's Recompense (1851)	34,000
Arnold, Thomas K.	"Latin and Greek books"	750,000
Benton, Thomas Hart	Abridgement of Debates of Congress, 16 v. (1857-61)	3,000 sets
Benton, Thomas Hart	Thirty Years' View, 2 v. (1854-56)	80,000
Burton, Wm. Evans, ed.	Cyclopaedia of Wit and Humor, 2 v. (1857)	20,000
Cornell, S. S.	"School Geographies"	600,000
Cornell, S. S.	"School Geographies"	250,000a
Griswold, Rufus W.	The Republican Court (1854; new, enl. 1856)	6,000
Holmes, Mary Jane	Tempest and Sunshine (1854)	15,000
Ripley, George, Dana, Charles A., eds.	New American Cyclopaedia, 16 v. (1858-63)	13,000f
Warner, Susan	Hills of the Shatemuc (1856)	19,000
Warner, Susan	"four other works"	100,000
Webster, Noah	Elementary Spelling Book (1783)	1,500,000a
Webster, Noah	Elementary Spelling Book (1783) "up to this time, aggregate sales total more than the population of the United States."	

A. S. Barnes & Burr

Beecher, Henry W., ed.	Plymouth Collection of Hymns	"numerous editions"
Clark, S. W.	English Grammar (1857)	75,000a
Clark, S. W.	English Grammar (1857)	250,000f
Davies, Charles	"Arithmetics" sales in U. S.	200,000
Monteith, James, MacNally, Francis	"Geographies" sales in 4 years	500,000
Page, David P.	Theory and Practice of Teaching (1847)	"numerous editions"
Parker, Richard G.	"Philosophies"	250,000
Parker, Richard G., Watson, James M.	"Readers" (completed July, 1859)	250,000
Willard, Emma	"Histories"	400,000
———	Teacher's Library	50,000
Number of distinct publications issued by Barnes & Burr		250
Aggregate sales of these publications		2,000,000

BAZIN & ELLSWORTH

Author	*Title*	*Sales*
Holbrook, Nelson M.	Progressive Speller and Definer (185-) past 5 mos.	60,000
Holbrook, Nelson M.; Todd, Salem	"Progressive Series"	600,000ta
Holbrook, Nelson M.; Todd, Salem	"Progressive Series"	1,000,000f
Lieber, Francis; Wigglesworth, Edward } eds.	Encyclopaedia Americana, 13 v. (1829-33)	1,400a sets
Scott, Walter	Waverley Novels (Parker edition, 27 v.)	1,200a sets

"The following dictionaries are so largely circulated as to be noteworthy":

Boyer, Abel	French Dictionary
Graglia, G. A.	Italian Dictionary
Leverett, Frederick P.	Latin Dictionary
Neumann, Henry; Baretti, Giuseppe	Spanish Dictionary
Pickering, John	Greek Lexicon

J. W. BRADLEY

Arthur, Timothy S.	Golden Grains (1850)	25,000
Arthur, Timothy S.	The Good Time Coming (1855)	20,000
Arthur, Timothy S.	Tales of Married Life (18—)	20,000
Arthur, Timothy S.	Ten Nights in a Bar-Room (1854)	50,000
Arthur, Timothy S.	The Three Eras of a Woman's Life (1855)	30,000
Arthur, Timothy S.	What Can Woman Do (1856)	20,000
Arthur, Timothy S.	"Works" sold by Bradley in last 10 years	600,000
Arthur, Timothy S.	"Works" "about 100"	1,000,000
Arthur, Timothy S.	"Works" "some titles reach 10,000a"	100,000a
Brayman, James O., ed.	Thrilling Adventures by Land and Sea (1852)	25,000
Bunyan, John	Pilgrim's Progress	10,000a
Dixon, Edward H.	Woman and Her Diseases (185–)	50,000
Fleetwood, John	Life of Christ (1st Amer. ed., 1820)	10,000a
Livingstone, David	African Travels (1858)	60,000
Smucker, Samuel M.	"Biographical Series," 4 v.	30,000

Brown, Taggard, & Chase

Author	*Title*	*Sales*
Abbott, Jacob	Rollo's Tour in Europe, "10 instructive juveniles"	80,000
Colburn, Warren	Arithmetic (1822)	3,000,000f
Cushing, Luther S.	Manual of Parliamentary Practice (1845)	29,000
Eaton, James S.	Arithmetic (1857)	25,000
Shillaber, B. P.	Knitting Work, a Web of Many Textures (1859)	15,000
Smellie, William	Philosophy of Natural History	100,000
Worcester, Joseph E.	Elements of History (1826)	100,000
Strickland, Agnes	Lives of the Queens of England, 12 v. (1840-48)	"also published"

James Challen

Barclay, J. T.	City of the Great King (1857)	"12 editions between 1857 & 1859"
Challen, James	Christian Evidences (1856?)	10,000
Challen, James	Christian Morals (1858?)	8,000
Challen, James	The Gospel and Its Elements (1856)	15,000
Osborn, H. S.	Palestine Past and Present (1858)	"5 editions between 1858 & 1859"
Wilson, Robert A.	New History of the Conquest of Mexico (1858)	"3 editions, 1858-1859"
———	Juvenile Books, 42 v. "in past 15 mos."	75,000
———	History of Independence Hall (185–)	"ample public appreciation"

Childs & Peterson

Allibone, Samuel A.	Dictionary Vol. 1 only (1858)	30,000f
Bouvier, Hannah M., ed.	Peterson's Familiar Science, 3 v. (1854)	103,000
Bouvier, John	American Law Dictionary, 2 v. (1839)	no figs.
Bouvier, John	Institutes of American Law, 4 v. (1851)	no figs.
Kane, Elisha Kent	Arctic Explorations, 2 v. (1856)	130,000
Webster, Noah	Unabridged Dictionary "for school districts alone, not less than 20,000 volumes."	
Sharswood, George, ed.	Blackstone's Commentaries (new issue) "first edition exhausted in a few days; second edition, now in press, will little more than supply the unfilled orders."	

DERBY & JACKSON

Author	*Title*	*Sales*
Beecher, Henry Ward	Lectures to Young Men (1846)	40,000
Beecher, Henry Ward	Star Papers (1855; 1859)	30,000
Brontë, Charlotte	"Novels"	100,000
Cozzens, Frederick S.	Sparrowgrass Papers (1856)	15,000
Cumming, R. G.	Hunter's Life (1856)	25,000
Cutter, William	Life of General Lafayette (1849)	25,000
Cutter, William	Life of General Putnam (1847)	25,000
Ferris, Mrs. B. G.	Female Life among the Mormons (1855)	50,000
Goodrich, Frank	Court of Napoleon (1857)	5,000
Judson, Levi C.	Biography of the Signers of the Declaration (1839)	25,000
Milburn, W. H.	"Books"	25,000
Roe, Azel S.	"Novels"	30,000
Shillaber, B. P.	Life and Sayings of Mrs. Partington (1854)	30,000
Simms, Wm. Gilmore	Life of General Greene (1849)	25,000
Simms, Wm. Gilmore	Life of General Marion (1844)	50,000
Stephens, John L.	Incidents of Travel in Egypt (1837)	25,000
Stowe, Harriet Beecher	The Minister's Wooing (1859)	25,000
Terhune, Mary	"Marion Harland's Novels"	100,000
Whitcher, Frances M. B.	Widow Bedott Papers (1856)	40,000
Wilson, Augusta Evans	Beulah (1859) "estimate for first year's sales"	50,000
Wirt, William	Patrick Henry (1817)	50,000
———	Standard British Classics (1849)	500,000a
———	Standard Fiction Series (1851)	72,000a

DICK & FITZGERALD

Avery, Samuel	Mrs. Partington's Carpet Bag of Fun (1854)	48,000
Curtis, Newton Mallory	Patrol of the Mountain (1847)	41,000
Curtis, Newton Mallory	Prairie Guide; or, Rose of the Rio Grande (1850)	45,000
DeVose, John	Yale College Scrapes (1852?)	17,000
Foster, George G.	New York in Slices (1849)	118,000
Ingraham, Joseph H.	The Dancing Feather (1845)	47,000
Lover, Samuel	Rory O'Moore (18—)	63,000
Montez, Lola	The Arts of Beauty (1858)	19,000

Author	*Title*	*Sales*
Reynolds, George W. M.	Life in London; or, Virtue and Vice (1852)	67,000
Slick, Sam	"Works" (T. C. Haliburton)	27,000
Smith, T. P.	Stanfield Hall (1853)	38,000
Valentine, D. W.	Comic Lectures (1849)	63,000
———	Gus Howard; or, How To Win a Wife (1852?)	61,000
	Inquire Within; or, Over Three Thousand Seven Hundred Facts Worth Knowing (185–)	55,000
———	Live and Learn, a Guide to All (1856)	22,000
———	Magician's Own Book (1857)	12,000
———	Minnie Gray; or, Who Is the Heir (1852)	57,000
———	The Reason Why; Natural History (1858?)	15,000
———	The Sociable; or, One Thousand & One Home Amusements (1858?)	14,500

G. G. Evans

Arthur, Timothy S.	"Books" "since January 1, 1859"	60,000
MacKenzie, R. Shelton	Memoirs of Robert Houdin (1859)	5,000

Gould & Lincoln

Agassiz, Louis Gould, Augustus A.	Principles of Zoölogy	15,000
Bailey, E.	Bailey's Chess Book (185–)	41,000
Bayne, Peter	Christian Life, Social and Individual (1857)	8,000
Bayne, Peter	Essays in Biography and Criticism, 2 v. (1857-58)	5,000
Blake, John Lauris	Conversations on Natural Philosophy (1831)	51,000
Blake, John Lauris	First Book in Astronomy (1831)	33,000
Chambers, Robert	Cyclopaedia of English Literature, 2 v. (1844)	22,000
Cruden, Alexander	Concordance (1st Amer. ed., 1806)	17,000
Guyot, Arnold	The Earth and Man, tr. Cornelius Felton (1849)	15,000
Harris, John	"Works"	53,000

Author	*Title*	*Sales*
Haven, Joseph	Mental Philosophy (1857)	7,000
Hitchcock, Edward, ed.	The Plurality of Worlds (1855)	5,000
James, John Angell	Christian Fellowship; Church Member's Guide (1829)	28,000
Knowles, James Davis	Memoir of Mrs. A. H. Judson (1829)	65,000
Lawrence, Wm. R.	Diary and Correspondence of Amos Lawrence (1855)	25,000
Malcom, Howard	Bible Dictionary (1828)	141,000
Miller, Hugh	Testimony of the Rocks (1857)	25,000
Miller, Hugh	"Works" 5 v. (1857)	92,000
Newcomb, Harvey	Anecdotes for Boys (1846)	14,000
Newcomb, Harvey	Anecdotes for Girls (1846)	14,000
Newcomb, Harvey	How To Be a Lady (1846)	20,000
Newcomb, Harvey	How To Be a Man (1846)	20,000
Paley, William	Natural Theology	57,000
Ripley, Henry J.	Notes on the Acts of the Apostles (1844)	24,000
Ripley, Henry J.	Notes on the Gospels (1844)	
Simonds, William	"Aimwell Stories" (1855-63)	60,000
Smith, Samuel F. Stow, Baron	The Psalmist (1843)	400,000
Thayer, William M.	Poor Boy and Merchant Prince (1857)	9,000
Thayer, William M.	Poor Girl and True Woman (1857)	
Walker, James Barr	Philosophy of the Plan of Salvation (1841)	53,000
Wayland, Francis	Elements of Moral Science (1835)	118,000
Wayland, Francis	Elements of Political Economy (1837)	51,000
Wells, David Ames	Annual of Scientific Discovery (annually 1850-65)	37,000
Williams, William R.	Lectures on the Lord's Prayer (1851)	"sacred classics which have no superior in American literature"
Williams, William R.	Miscellanies (1850)	
Williams, William R.	Religious Progress (1850)	

HARPER

Abbott, Jacob	The Young Christian Series, 4 v.	120,000
Abbott, Jacob	"Illustrated Histories"	300,000
Abbott, Jacob	"Juveniles" begun 1834 1. Marco Paul Series, 6 v. 2. Franconia Stories, 10 v. 3. Harper's Storybooks, 36 v. 4. Little Learner, 4 v.	750,000

Author	*Title*	*Sales*
Barnes, Albert	Notes on Job, Isaiah, Daniel	"many thousands"
Barnes, Albert	Notes on the New Testament (18—)	450,000
	IVISON & PHINNEY	
Colton, George Fitch, G. W.	Geography (1848)	120,000a
Fasquelle, Jean Louis	"French Series"	30,000a
Sanders, C. W.	"Readers" and "Spellers"	1,000,000a
Sanders, C. W.	"Readers" and "Spellers"	12,000,000f
Thomson, James Bates	"Arithmetics"	150,000a
Wells, W. H.	Elementary English Grammar (1846)	300,000
———	Educational News (quarterly)	circulation 50,000
	J. P. JEWETT	
Alcott, Wm. Andrus	The Physiology of Marriage (1856)	25,000
Cole, Samuel W.	"Agricultural Books"	60,000
Cumming, John	"Works" [Bible readings]	80,000
Cummins, Maria	The Lamplighter (1854)	93,000
Dadd, George H.	The Modern Horse Doctor (1854)	12,000
Hentz, Carolyn Lee	Ernest Linwood (1856)	25,000
Hubbell, Martha Stone	The Shady Side; or, Life in a Country Parsonage (1853)	42,000
Randall, George M.	Pitt Street Chapel Lectures (185–)	12,000
Sawyer, Leicester A.	New Translation of the New Testament, 3 v. (1858)	10,000
Stowe, Harriet Beecher	Uncle Tom's Cabin, 2 v. (1852)	310,000
Stowe, Harriet Beecher	Key to Uncle Tom's Cabin (1853)	90,000
———	Book of One Thousand Anecdotes (1852?)	45,000
———	Life of Isaac T. Hooper (185–)	12,000
———	"large variety of other titles, averaging sales of	10,000 each"
	LEA & BLANCHARD	
Hays, Isaac, ed.	American Journal of the Medical Sciences	5,000 subs.
	PHILLIPS, SAMPSON	
Abbott, Jacob	Rollo Books (1834; 1855) "last 4 years"	127,400

Author	*Title*	*Sales*
Abbott, Jacob	Rollo, Lucy, Jonas Books "last 4 years"	1,200,000
Beecher, Henry Ward	Life Thoughts (1858)	36,000
Phelps, Elizabeth Stuart	Sunny Side Series, 3 v. (1851; 1853)	110,000
Wayland, Francis	Memoirs . . . of Rev. Adoniram Judson, 2 v. (1853)	60,000

PUDNEY & RUSSELL

Ingraham, Joseph H.	Pillar of Fire (1859) "in about 6 mos."	50,000
Ingraham, Joseph H.	Prince of the House of David (1855) "in 3 years"	180,000

[These two books subsequently transferred to G. G. Evans.]

G. P. PUTNAM

Irving, Washington	Life of Washington, 5 v., illus. ed. (1856-59)	42,000 sets
Irving, Washington	Sketch Book (1819-20; new ed., 1848)	35,000
Irving, Washington	"Works," 15 v., excluding Life of Washington and the Sketch Book, "in last 10 years"	22,000 sets
Irving, Washington	"all works published by Putnam since 1849"	575,000
Taylor, Bayard	At Home and Abroad (1859)	"in press"
Taylor, Bayard	Views-A-Foot (1846)	30,000
Taylor, Bayard	"Works" (5 v., 1855; 6 v., 1858; 8 v., 1859)	150,000
Taylor, Bayard	"Titles other than Views-A-Foot average	20,000 each"

RUDD & CARLTON

Bradley, Edward	Adventures of Verdant Green (reprint) "sold in Eng.	90,000"
Burr, Charles C.	Lectures of Lola Montez (1858)	7,000
Butler, William Allen	Nothing To Wear (1857)	21,000
Fiske, Daniel	Book of the American Chess Congress (1859)	no figs.
Guerrazzi, Francesco D.	Beatrice Cenci, tr. Luigi Monti (1858)	6,000
Michelet, Jules	L'Amour, tr. J. W. Palmer (1859)	18,000
Mulock, Dinah Maria	A Woman's Thoughts about Women (1858)	12,000

Author	*Title*	*Sales*
Ruffini, Giovanni	Doctor Antonio, a Tale of Italy (1857)	8,000
Stoddard, Richard H.	Life and Travels of Humboldt (1859)	no figs.
Thompson, Mortimer M.	"Works" ["Doesticks Series"] (1855)	77,000
	SAXTON, BARKER, & COMPANY	
Bennett, Emerson	Wild Scenes on the Frontiers (1859)	22,000
Blake, John Lauris	Farmer's Every Day Book (185–)	15,000
Conkling, Margaret C.	Memoirs of the Mother and Wife of Washington (1850)	15,000
Foster, Benjamin F.	Clerk's Assistant (1837)	28,000
Goodrich, Samuel B.	History of All Nations, 2 v. (1849-51)	32,000
Goodrich, Samuel B.	Recollections of a Lifetime, 2 v. (1851)	20,000
Gunn, John C.	Domestic Medicine (183–; 1851)	90,000
Headley, Phineas C.	Life of the Empress Josephine (1850)	56,000
Holmes, Mary Jane	"Works"	30,000
Parton, Sara W.	Fern Leaves (1st & 2nd Series) (1853-54)	96,000
Parton, Sara W.	Little Ferns (1853)	34,000
Randall, Henry S., ed.	Youatt on the . . . Horse (1852)	54,000
Willson, Arabella M.	Lives of the Three Mrs. Judsons (1851)	47,000
———	Biographical Series "various selected subjects which average sales of from 10,000 to 15,000 each"	
	CHARLES SCRIBNER	
Bushnell, Horace	Sermons for the New Life (1858)	10,000
Headley, Joel T.	Napoleon and His Marshals, 2 v. (1846)	50,000
Headley, Joel T.	The Sacred Mountains (1847)	40,000
Headley, Joel T.	Washington and His Generals, 2 v. (1847)	40,000
Holland, Josiah G.	Bitter Sweet (1858)	10,000
Holland, Josiah G.	Timothy Titcomb's Letters (1858)	20,000
Mitchell, Donald G.	Dream Life "by Ik Marvel" (1851)	30,000
Mitchell, Donald G.	Reveries of a Bachelor "by Ik Marvel" (1850)	40,000
	ROBERT SEARS	
Sears, Robert, compiler	Adventures of Celebrated Persons (184–)	20,000
Sears, Robert, compiler	Bible Biography (184–)	60,000
Sears, Robert, compiler	Bible Illustrations, 3 v. (1841)	45,000

Author	*Title*	*Sales*
Sears, Robert, compiler	History of the American Revolution (1845)	50,000
Sears, Robert, compiler	History of the Bible (1844)	20,000
Sears, Robert, compiler	History of China and India (184–)	20,000
Sears, Robert, compiler	History of the Russian Empire (185–)	14,000
Sears, Robert, compiler	Incidents of Wars of the United States (1859)	15,000
Sears, Robert, compiler	Pictorial Description of the United States (1848)	20,000
Sears, Robert, compiler	Pictorial Family Bible (1840-41)	20,000
Sears, Robert, compiler	Scenes and Sketches in Continental Europe (185–)	15,000
Sears, Robert, compiler	Wonders of the World (1st & 2nd Series) (1843; 184–)	90,000
Sears, Robert, compiler	"six other books, aggregate circulation"	60,000
	"Aggregate sales for all the above family volumes"	400,000

SHELDON & COMPANY

Ford, Mrs. Sally R.	Grace Truman (1857)	30,000
Hazen, Edward	New Speller and Definer (1829)	20,000a
Loomis, Justin R.	Physiology (1853)	25,000
Olshausen, Hermann	Commentaries, 2 v. (1830-32)	15,000
Spurgeon, Charles H.	"Works," 8 v. (reprinted, 1856)	200,000
Stoddard, John F.	"School Series" "in 10 years"	1,500,000
Webb, J. Russell	"Readers"	8,000,000

W. A. TOWNSEND

Cooper, James Fenimore	"Works" (illus. F. O. C. Darley; edition begun 1859)	30,000f
Cooper, James Fenimore	"Works" (library edition, 34 v.)	50,000a
Cooper, James Fenimore	"Works," traveller's edition, now in process of publication	
Herbert, Henry William	Field Sports 2 v. (1848)	"circulates widely"
Herbert, Henry William	Fish and Fishing (1850)	"circulates widely"
Herbert, Henry William	Complete Manual for Young Sportsmen (1859)	"circulates widely"
Herbert, Henry William	Horse and Horsemanship of America (1857)	2,500

Author	*Title*	*Sales*
———	Autograph Etchings by American Artists (185–)	no figs.
———	Braithwaite's Retrospect circulation	5,000
———	Mount Vernon and Its Associations (185–)	no figs.

E. Walker

Dowling, John	History of Romanism (1845)	30,000
Sears, Robert	Guide to Knowledge (184–)	60,000
Sears, Robert	Wonders of the World, 1st Series (1843)	100,000
———	Statesman's Manual, 2 v. (185–)	12,000

No Publisher Assigned

Agassiz, Louis	Contributions to the Natural History of the U. S. "in 1858	2,500 subs.'
Goodrich, Samuel B.	"Peter Parley Books"	300,000a
Goodrich, Samuel B.	"Peter Parley Books"	7,000,000f
Goodrich, Samuel B.	"some of his books"	50,000a

* * * * *

Copyright and Royalty Figures [By Publisher]

Appleton

Cost of the *New American Cyclopaedia* is about $5 per page; total outlay of "at least $150,000." George Goodrich & Sons paid Noah Webster $40,000 for copyright of the *Spelling Book* (in 1817); this book now being published by Appleton. "Appletons have spent $60,000 during the past year (1859) for rare books, gathered in Europe by the single volume."

Bazin & Ellsworth

"Refused offer of $10,000 for copyright on the *Progressive Speller and Definer.*"

"To [various] authors & copyright owners, during the last 10 years, over $175,000 paid as copyright money."

Childs & Peterson

Paid to family of Elisha Kent Kane $65,000 as copyright on *Arctic Explorations.* Copyright paid is one dollar per copy (two volumes).

Paid to estate of Judge Bouvier, "upwards of $5,000 per annum," as copyright on his *Law Dictionary* and *Institutes.*

To Colonel Frémont, "a large sum advanced on his *Explorations*, now in press."

Derby & Jackson

Beecher, Henry Ward	$6,000
Goodrich, Frank ["Dick Tinto"]	5,000
Roe, Azel S.	3,000
Shillaber, B. P. ["Mrs. Partington"]	3,000
Terhune, Mary ["Marion Harland"]	15,000

G. G. Evans

Abbott, Jacob. His various books sold in manuscript to different publishers at prices ranging from $300 to $500 per volume.

Arthur, Timothy S. During 1859, $6,250 paid him for copyright privileges.

Gould & Lincoln

Wayland, Francis. $30,000.

Harper

To Professor Anthon, "for his classical books, not far from $40,000."

To John Stephens, "for *Travels in Central Africa*, almost $40,000."

"Not less than $35,000 to Albert Barnes for copyrights on *Notes on the New Testament* and on *Notes on Job*, *Isaiah*, and *Daniel*."

Ivison & Phinney

For Sanders' series of *Readers* and *Spellers*, over $150,000 paid as copyright.

Total paid annually for copyrights, "about $30,000."

Total paid up to this time for copyrights, "nearly $500,000."

J. B. Lippincott

To Drs. Bache and Wood for *United States Dispensatory*, $80,000.

To George Bancroft for his *History*, $75,000.

G. P. Putnam

To Washington Irving, "$75,000 in the past ten years."

To Bayard Taylor, $30,000.

Charles Scribner

To Joel T. Headley, "more than $50,000."

To Ik Marvel, "over $20,000."

W. A. Townsend

Have "refused $50,000 for copyright of Cooper's novels."

The Quartos of *The Spanish Gypsy* and Their Relation to *The Changeling*

By George R. Price

MIDDLETON and Rowley's *The Spanish Gypsy* is a romantic comedy of enough merit to have achieved several modern editions; yet no full bibliographical study of it has been published.[1] Moreover, the two early editions, quartos published in 1653 and 1661, have interesting relations to the publishers of the mid-century. This article is an attempt to complete our bibliographical knowledge of the play and to disclose incidental facts about stationers and books connected with it, in particular, *The Changeling*.

The title page of the first quarto reads as follows: "THE | SPANISH | GIPSIE. | As it was Acted (with great Applauſe)| at the Privat Houſe in DRURY-LANE, | and *SALISBURY COURT*. | [*Bar*] | Written by [*Bracket*] *THOMAS MIDLETON*, | AND | *WILLIAM ROWLEY*. | [*Bracket*] Gent. | [*Bar*] | *Never Printed before*. | [*Bar*] | [*John Marriott's device? Two branches of laurel (?) bound into a circle.*] | [*Bar*] | *LONDON*, | Printed by *I. G.* for *Richard Marriott* in St. *Dunstans* | Church-yard, *Fleetſtreet*, 1653. |" The printer of Q_1 was John Grismond the second. His identity is shown, not only by his initials in the imprint, but by the headpiece which is found on signature B_1r of *SG* and in a considerable number of other books "printed by *J. G.*," particularly on signature [Dd_1v] of Ashmole, *Theatrum Chemicum Britannicum*, "printed by *J. Grismond*," 1652. Also, the

[1] My study of this play was made possible by the aid of a fellowship from the Henry E. Huntington Library, 1950-1951. I have been much assisted in completing it through grants for travel and the purchase of film by the All-University Research Committee of Michigan State University.

initial R on B_1r of *SG* is identical with one on Eee_3r of *Theatrum Chemicum*. Though the bands of fleurons on [A_2r] and [K_2r] of *SG* are negligible as evidence, they resemble those used in other books printed by Grismond, for instance those on signature A_3r of Sadler, *Inquisitio Anglicana*, 1654, with Grismond's name in the imprint. Grismond was, of course, an important stationer of his time.[2]

Two leaves precede the text of *SG*. The recto of the first, [A_1], is the title page; its verso is blank. *Drammatis Perfonæ* appears on [A_2r]; the verso is blank. The text runs from the top of B_1r to one-third down [K_2r]. The signing is B, B_2, B_3, etc., but K_2 is unsigned. A and K half-sheets were probably printed as one (see the discussion of the press-work, below). The catchwords show no irregularities of consequence.

At least two, possibly more, compositors set the type for this quarto; but the evidence for this fact can scarcely be arranged to reveal the method of their work. Though signs of division appear in the variant spelling of three proper names, these names do not occur in enough pages to define the workers' shares. The type-page length is almost uniformly forty lines except on C_4r and I_1r-[K_2r]; but the drop in the latter section to thirty-eight or thirty-nine lines is readily explained by the compositor's attempt to fill at least a moderate part of [K_2r], the last recto of the final half-sheet. Finally, in the Dyce copy of *SG* are manuscript corrections which appear to have textual authority; and of these, four (perhaps really five[3]) occur on C_4r, three on E_3r, three on G_2v, and three on I_1r. A reasonable inference may be that these pages were done by a less careful typesetter. There-

[2] H. R. Plomer, in his note on Grismond in *A Dictionary of the Booksellers and Printers . . . 1641 to 1667* (London, 1907), p. 87, does not mention his publishing; but a considerable number of titles are entered in the *Stationers' Register* as Grismond's copies in the 1640's, 1650's, and 1660's. At his death in February, 1675/76, fifteen of his copies passed to Richard Royston. G. E. B. Eyre and H. R. Plomer, *A Transcript of the Registers . . . From 1640-1708 A. D.*, III (London, 1914), 15.

[3] One is an addition at the foot of C_3v, but it could as well have been placed at the top of C_4r.

fore, I conclude that C_4r and a fairly large number of other pages were set by a second or a third compositor.

As for the press-work, eight sequences of running titles[4] indicate the use of at least two presses, in this manner: Press I printed the inner and outer formes of gathering B, the inner forme of C, and the outer formes of F, G, and H. Press II began with the outer forme of gathering C, and continued with inner and outer D and E, inner F, G, and H, and both formes of I. There remained A and K, two half-gatherings. If these eight pages were printed on one sheet, we might expect K_1r to fall on the inner forme (with K_2v, which needed no running title); and K_1v and K_2r on the outer forme. But all three titles in K have been borrowed from the outer forme of H, as if all were taken at one time by the crew of one press, perhaps Press I. Therefore, two inferences seem possible: (1) Either A and K were imposed and printed separately by half-sheet imposition, by one or both presses; or (2) the eight pages of A-K were imposed together and printed on one sheet through the use of two skeletons, the inner forme being A_1v, A_2r, K_1v, K_2r, the outer A_1r, A_2v, K_1r, K_2v. Because in the five copies I have examined in hand, all show the watermark in K, there seems a little evidence for the second method, probably followed by but one press. However, not less than two presses worked on this quarto, and, if only two, then Press I did six formes (or eight with A-K or seven with K); Press II, ten formes (or eleven with A or twelve with A-K).

Stop-press correction by either team of workmen was practically nil. I find but three corrections in the nine copies of Q_1 that

[4] The series are these:
B_1v, B_2v, C_1v, F_4v, G_4v, H_2v, K_1v
B_2r, C_2r, F_3r, G_3r, H_1r, K_1r
B_3r, B_4r, C_4r, F_1r, G_1r, H_3r, K_2r
B_3v, B_4v, C_3v, F_2v, G_2v, H_4v
C_1r, D_1r, D_2r, E_1r, E_2r, F_2r, G_2r, H_2r, I_2r, I_3r
C_2v, D_1v, D_2v, E_1v, E_2v, F_1v, G_1v, H_1v, I_1v, I_4v
C_3r, D_3r, D_4r, E_3r, E_4r, F_4r, G_4r, H_4r, I_1r, I_4r
C_4v, D_3v, D_4v, E_3v, E_4v, F_3v, G_3v, H_3v, I_2v, I_3v

I have examined (including six that have been collated): On C_2r "Iilting" was normalized to "Jilting" early in the printing (two exemplars have the uncorrected form); on H_4r *Eer.* was very soon corrected to *Fer*[*nando*]. (one exemplar of the uncorrected state remains); and on [I_4v] "ſpare no$_t$" (found in five copies) was changed to "ſpare no$_{t,}$" (four copies). I have not yet found a copy with the *t* in alignment. As the manuscript changes in the Dyce copy prove, there was plenty of opportunity for more correction at the press.

The paper found in this quarto was probably made in Germany, for the only watermarks in Briquet's *Les Filigranes* which bear some resemblance to those in *SG* are of German origin.[5] All are of the same family, rather than of the same genus. The family is the "coat of arms"; and in *SG* the mark has three chief elements, a circular shield with the arms inscribed, a fluted (or foliated) band surrounding the circle, and a helmed head surmounting the whole. In the quarto I distinguish at least two types (possibly to be subdivided into four); one of the distinctions is the number of inverted chevrons in the arms. However, as usual, the stock of paper divided between the presses seems to have contained these marks mingled unsystematically; the types of marks do not correspond to the presses which printed the formes.[6]

Among the bibliographical clues connecting *SG* and *The Changeling*, also published in 1653, is the fact that watermarks identical with those just described appear in gatherings B-G in several, if not all, copies of *The Changeling*.[7]

[5] See Nos. 2078 and 2251. Edward Heawood, in *Watermarks Mainly of the 17th and 18th Centuries* (Hilversum, 1950), has analogues which show less resemblance than Briquet's.

[6] I have studied the watermarks in five copies, those of the Huntington, Harvard, Folger, University of Chicago, and Newberry libraries. These also furnished the evidence on the series of running titles, although it is possible to check this evidence against other copies on film, as I have done.

[7] I have examined six copies of *The Changeling*, three in the Huntington Library, two in the Folger Library, and one in the Library of Congress; and in them the incidence of watermarks is as stated except that in the Bridgewater-Huntington

The publisher of Q_1 of *SG*, named in the imprint as Richard Marriott, like his father John, issued works by noted authors such as Donne, Quarles, Henry Smith, and Walton. Richard also published a number of plays; but his right to the copy of *SG* is obscure. For June 28, 1624 the Stationers' Register has "Iohn Wright Rec' of him for the Spanish Iepsye vj^{d}", an entry which Greg considers "formally anomalous," but apparently made on the day noted, rather than later, and not necessarily suspicious.[8] Though there is no record of transfer of the copyright from John Wright senior or his successor, Edward Wright, to either of the Marriotts, the absence of it cannot be considered very significant by itself. A stranger fact is that, having paid for the entry, Wright did not publish the play at all. To the sequel problem of whether Wright's MS finally reached Richard Marriott's hands, or whether another MS served as copy for Q_1, I shall return in a moment.

It may be taken as extremely probable that Humphrey Moseley, a great collector of drama, had wished and perhaps actually planned to publish *SG* before it appeared as Marriott's. He had entered *The Changeling* on October 19, 1652; it was published late in 1652 or early in 1653. Surely it preceded *SG*, for on signature I_3v of *The Changeling* "The Spanish Gypsies" is named in a list of plays "in the press" and apparently to be sold by Moseley. This point in my analysis seems an appropriate one at which to list all the links which connect these two plays. I shall put them in what may possibly be their chronological order:

(1) "The Scene, Allegant" is found on signature A_1v of *The*

("Printed for Humphrey Moseley" in the imprint) sheet H also has the coat of arms mark. Sheets H and A-K usually are a better grade of paper with a large fleur-de-lis crown mark. Leaf I_4 furnished the title page of the first issue. These notes are of course true for the second issue, "Printed for A[nn] M[oseley]," 1668, except that a cancel title page has been provided. In the two copies of the cancel that I have seen, the Huntington and the Newberry, the watermarks do not appear the same, but I have not been able to identify either.

[8] W. W. Greg, *A Bibliography of the English Printed Drama to the Restoration*, I (London, 1939), 34.

Changeling, below the Dramatis Personæ; and on signature A_2r of *SG*, in the same position. But Alicant is never the scene in *SG*. By an error this line has been transferred from *The Changeling*, where it is correct. The error is either scribal or editorial. I see no way of knowing which it is; but that it occurred before the plays reached the printers is fairly certain, for *SG* was printed by Grismond, *The Changeling* by Thomas Newcomb.[9] The error, then, points to the fact that the two plays were in close association at a time probably not long before they were sent to the printers.

(2) As mentioned above, "The Spanish Gypsies" is named at the end of *The Changeling* as "in the press"; but its title is inserted as if it were an afterthought, for the list had been completed, a bar had been set in, and then was added "Alſo, The *Spaniſh Gypſies*." Possibly Moseley defrayed part of the cost of publishing *SG*, in particular by furnishing the paper, and as a partner wished both to advertise the play and sell it from his own shop. But if so, why does not his name appear in the imprint?[10] (For that matter, why does it not appear on *The Changeling* title page in its first state?)

(3) Some of the paper for both *SG* and *The Changeling* came from the same stock; see note 7 above.

(4) Six years after publication, on June 11, 1659, Marriott transferred the copyright of *SG* (as one of eleven plays) to Moseley. The entry again gives the title as "The Spanish Gip-

[9] The headband found on B_1r of *The Changeling* occurs on B_1r of Thomas Muffet, *Healths Improvement*, "Printed by *Tho: Newcomb*," 1655; on [a_4r] of Payne Fisher, *Marston-Moor*, "*Typis Thomæ Newcomb*," 1650; on [a_3r] and B_1r of Fisher, *Irenodia Gratulatoria*, "Typis *T. Newcomb*," 1652; and on A_2r of Sir John Denham, *The Famous Battel of the Catts*, "Printed by *T. Newcomb*," 1668. Since making this identification, I find that Prof. Robert G. Lawrence, in his doctoral dissertation, a critical edition of *The Changeling*, at the University of Wisconsin in 1956, also identifies Newcomb. See pp. lv-lvii.

[10] The fact that *The Changeling* is partly printed on crown paper of finer quality than the coat of arms paper does not necessarily imply that *SG* had been printed before it and that the stock was running low. If all the extant copies of *The Changeling* are found to possess this finer paper adorning the first and last gatherings, I think this dressing up is merely characteristic of Moseley, a sincere lover of drama.

sies," the plural agreeing with the advertisement in *The Changeling*.[11]

(5) If Marriott's edition was sold out, or nearly so, in 1659, Moseley may have intended to publish a second one; but he was prevented. He died at some time between October 23, 1660, the date of his last entry, and August 8, 1661, when Ann Moseley, his widow, is recorded as in business at his shop, The Prince's Arms.[12] Again there is no entry of a transferred copyright, yet in 1661 Robert Crofts published the second edition of *SG*, presumably after Humphrey's death. For some reason Crofts sold the copyright or the edition to Francis Kirkman, whose name appears in the second state of the imprint. This ends the history of the copyright in the seventeenth century.

To make an entirely acceptable theory out of the first four facts given above has proved impossible for me. However, one genuine, if less tangible, bibliographical fact remains to be mentioned, namely, the kind of MS that Grismond used in printing Marriott's edition and its possible relation to one of Moseley's.

Careful textual study of a number of quartos of Middleton's plays leads me to think that bibliographers generally have not emphasized enough (though doubtless they have realized) the variety of kinds of MSS which may have lain behind sixteenth and seventeenth century editions. I should classify the kinds of distinguishable dramatic MSS as follows (I give examples): (1) Foul papers or very early drafts (*Your Five Gallants*).[13] (2) A fair copy in the author's autograph or immediately transcribed from it (four MSS of *A Game at Chesse*, *Believe As You List*). (3)

[11] Greg, *Bibliography*, I, 67. But the plural was possibly just a popular variation. Pepys refers to the play now in the singular, again in the plural. G. E. Bentley, *The Jacobean and Caroline Stage*, IV (Oxford, 1956), 893-894.

[12] Eyre and Plomer, *Transcript*, II (London, 1913), 281, 300-301. The shop is not named in the entries, but the imprint of *The Beggars' Bush*, 1661, gives it.

[13] See R. C. Bald, "The Foul Papers of a Revision," *The Library*, 4th series, XXVI (1945), 37-50, and G. R. Price, "The First Edition of *Your Five Gallants* and of *Michaelmas Term*," *The Library*, 5th series, XVIII (1953), 23-29.

The theater scribe's fair copy made for submitting to the censor and for annotation by the prompter, should the censor's changes not be too extensive (*The Second Maiden's Tragedy*). (4) The theater scribe's copy after alteration by the censor and annotations by the prompter—i.e., the promptbook (*The Old Law*).[14] (5) A transcript of the promptbook made for a buyer, whether a reader or a publisher (Archdall-Folger MS of *A Game at Chesse*). (6) An "assembled" copy (*Two Gentlemen of Verona*). (7) A text reconstructed from memory or by stenography, a "bad" quarto. I suspect that of these, type (3) must have served as printer's copy more often than scholars have commonly realized.

Whether that is true, I believe that it was to type (3) that the copy for Q_1 of *SG* belonged. It is reasonable to suppose that the MS of a collaborated play like *SG*, as sold by the dramatists to the actors, though it was not foul papers, must have reflected its dual origin in the presence of more than usual corrections between lines and in margins, the addition of loose quarter-sheets or slips of paper glued in, inconsistency of speech headings, and so on. Middleton's handwriting was legible enough probably to serve in a promptbook; Rowley's may not have been so.[15] Therefore, if it was not a regular practice, it was doubtless very common for the author's fair copy to be handed to the theater scribe for transcription into a form to please the censor's eye and to use (if all went well) as a promptbook. The scribe's duty included noting in the margins such properties as would have to be provided, expanding stage directions that were inadequate, supplying missing stage directions, omitting profanity, clarifying ob-

[14] See "The Authorship and the Manuscript of *The Old Law*," *The Huntington Library Quarterly*, XVI (1953), 117-139.

[15] For photographs of Middleton's handwriting, see *A Game at Chesse*, ed. R. C. Bald (Cambridge, 1929), pp. 34, 39. I have examined photographs of the three letters supposed by Greg to be Rowley's autograph, MSS Dulwich College 1.107 and 1.110 and British Museum Egerton 2623, folio 25. In these his hand seems to me to be of average legibility; in a play MS it may have been less good.

scure speech heads (such as "1" and "2"), and even timing entries (but not anticipating the entries or the provision of properties; that was the bookholder's function). As he must often have known who would play certain parts, the scribe occasionally wrote the name of the actor instead of that of the character: "Enter M^r^ Goughe."[16]

The scribe who prepared the MS of *SG* did not perform his function ideally, for besides leaving nineteen entries simultaneous with the speaker's first words, he actually left six entries in a belated position. He timed about eight entries properly. No entries are anticipated; on the other hand, none are omitted. Some stage directions remain incomplete, one is belated. But most of them are clear enough. Sound effects are placed in the margin, where the bookholder would observe them easily as he prepared the MS for stage use later. Similarly, three properties are noted in the margin: "Two swords" on signature I_3r; A "Picture" on H_1v; and "A casket" on I_4v. But none of these is where the bookholder would call for it, that is, in advance. Obviously, then, Q_1 of *SG* was not printed from a promptbook. However, if the MS had been the authors' holograph, we should find Middleton's and Rowley's characteristic spellings much more often than we do.[17] I infer, therefore, that their peculiarities of spelling have been twice modified, once by the scribe's habits, then by the compositors'.

One might theorize that this MS of *SG* was licensed by the censor and kept carefully in the files, first of the Lady Elizabeth's Men, then of Queen Henrietta's, and finally of Beeston's Boys,[18] in case the promptbook made from it should be lost, and that at last, in mid-century, someone sold it to Richard Marriott. But

[16] *The Second Maiden's Tragedy*, folio 47^r^.

[17] Trinity and Huntington MSS of *A Game at Chesse* justify the making of an authentic list of Middleton's characteristics of spelling. Intensive study of Rowley's shares in *The Old Law*, *A Fair Quarrel*, *The Changeling*, and *SG*, as well as of his unaided plays, is the basis of my list of his spelling habits.

[18] Bentley, *Jacobean and Caroline Stage*, I, 187.

John Wright's entry of *SG* in the Register, twenty-nine years before publication, remains to be considered. It raises questions which seemingly cannot be answered from the evidence that is now available. Was Wright's MS the one which ultimately became Marriott's? Or was Wright's MS, rather, Middleton and Rowley's fair copy, from which the theater scribe had previously prepared the MS that was to become Marriott's? Did Wright's MS at length come to the hands of Humphrey Moseley? We can be sure that a prompt copy of *SG* was in existence in 1639, when the play was among those protected for William Beeston against (among others) Queen Henrietta's Men.[19] Hence, we know there were at least two, possibly three, extant MSS of *SG* just before the closing of the theaters.[20] The unquestionable fact of several authentic versions justifies our accepting more readily the corrections introduced into the Dyce copy of Q_1, now in the Victoria and Albert Museum. These jottings number thirty-six; but not all can properly be called "corrections," for at least two are meaningless. Except two (not the meaningless ones) on C_4r, all the changes are in red ink and seem to be in the same seventeenth century hand.[21] It was doubtless the general aptness of the corrections which led Dyce to conclude that they originated, not in shrewd emendation, but in reference to an authentic MS. In reproducing the following six examples from among the more convincing ones, I try to show the position of the MS notes.

(1) *Lew*[*is*]. That if only I ſhould be the Man
Made acceſſary, and a party both
To mine own torment . . . (B_4r)

MS: That I only
I, etc.

[19] Ibid., I, 330-331.

[20] The Restoration performance seen by Pepys on March 7, 1667/68 could, of course, have used the first or second quarto as promptbook. Ibid., IV, 893-894.

[21] Although I have studied the corrections on film, I have not held the Dyce copy in hand. I am grateful to Mr. James Wardrop, Deputy Keeper of the Library of the Victoria and Albert Museum, for kindly checking my reading of the more important corrections, righting two of them, and describing the inks used. He tells me that the Library has no information about the ownership of the copy before Dyce.

(2) Let theſe proud Sakers and Jer-falcons flie,
Do not thou move a wing, be to thy ſelfe,
And not a changeling. (C_3r) *MS*: Thy ſelfe and, etc.

(3) *Soto.* His name is *Don Tomazo Portacareco,* Nunckle to yong *Don Hortado de Mendonza,* Coſen german to the *Conde de Tindilla,* and naturell brother to *Francisco de Bavadilla,* one of the Commendadors of *Aleantaro,* a Gentleman of long ſtanding. [ſtile. *MS: Alv*[*arez*]. And of as long a *Pre*[*tiosa*]. Verſes! I love good ones, let me ſee 'em. (C_4r)

(4) Where e're thou travell'ſt, Scorpions ſtop thy way: theſe. *MS*: [*Between* way *and* theſe] Who are?
Enter Sancho, and Soto as Gipſies. (D_4r)

(5) *Fra*[*ncisco*]. There is report of a faire Gipſie,
A pretty little toy, whom all our Gallants
In *Madrill* flock to looke on: this ſhee trow?
MS: Ioh[n.] Yes ſure 'tis ſhee—I ſhould be ſorry elſe.
Enter . . . Pretioſa . . . (E_2v)

(6) The prayers of the poore ſhall crowne your dayes,
And theirs are ſomething hard. (I_1v) *MS*: [ſome]times heard

Three of the thirty-six corrections consist of speeches that had been lost in the type-setting. Five consist of added, deleted, or substituted speech heads. Of this total of eight, at least four could not have been supplied by a modern editor, since their absence would not be suspected. An impressive aptness marks several of the other emendations. All in all, without exaggerating the importance of the corrections (indeed a good many seeming errors still remain in the quarto text), one draws the conclusion that the corrector, if not meticulous, was pretty consistent, that the corrections were taken from a MS at least as authentic as the printer's copy, and that this quarto was set in type with somewhat more than average exactness for such literature in that age.

The second edition of *SG,* a reprint quarto, in its title page closely imitates the typography and arrangement of its original as far as through the authors' names. These are followed by: "*The Second Impreſsion* [*i.e., edition*] | [*Bar*] | *LONDON,* |

Printed by *T. C.* and *L. P.* for *Robert Crofts*, at the Sign of the | *Crown* in *Chancery-lane*, under *Serjeants Inne*, | 1661. |" There is no record of the transfer of copyright from Humphrey Moseley to Crofts, whose career as a publisher seems to have been rather short and certainly undistinguished.[22] As noted above, Moseley died late in 1660 or early in 1661. Ann, his widow and the heir of his estate, continued in business at the Prince's Arms for a few years, but at least by 1664 she was beginning to dispose of Humphrey's copyrights.[23] Possibly by 1661 her share of the stock of the first quarto of *SG* (if we assume that Humphrey had purchased a share) was all sold, and she did not care to reprint. If so, she sold her right to Crofts. The explicitness of the imprint of Q_2 argues against the second edition being a piracy by Crofts.

The title page of Q_2 occurs in two states, part of the imprint being altered in the second state. As altered, the imprint reads: "*LONDON*, | Printed by *T. C.* and *L. P.* for *Francis Kirkman*, at the Sign of | the *Jo. Fletchers* Head, on the Back-ſide of | St. *Clements*, 1661. |" Study reveals that the changes consist in (1) new letterpress for *Francis Kirkman* and for all of the third and fourth lines between the words "the" and "1661"; and (2) transfer of the same "the" from line two to line three. Corresponding to this change in the imprint is a change in the advertisement on K_2v (the text ends on K_2r). In the first state, under a band of urns is "*Playes Printed for* Robert Crofts. | The reward of Loyalty. | The Old Law. | The Careleſſe Shepardeſſe. | And moſt ſort of Playes, are to be had at his Shop at the *Crown* | in *Chancery-*

[22] Plomer gives his dates as 1657-1664. *Dictionary*, p. 56.

[23] Ann's only entry of new copies is on August 8, 1661; thereafter entries naming her are all transfers to other publishers. Eyre and Plomer, *Transcript*, II, 300-301, and *passim* to 503. She was dead by February 22, 1674/75. But she had reissued *The Changeling* in 1668, employing John Streater to print the cancel title page and Thomas Dring Jr. to sell the remaindered stock at his shop, The White Lion (an address not mentioned by Plomer). Possibly she sold her other remainders in the same way. Streater's mark, found on the cancel, may also be seen on $[A_1r]$ of Sir Robert Stapleton, *The Tragedie of Hero and Leander*, 1668, and both books are connected by definite bibliographical clues with the title page of Stapleton, *The Step-Mother*, "Printed by *J. Streater*," 1664.

Lane, under *Serjants-Inne.* |" In the second state this is: "IF any Gentlem[e]n pleaſe to repair to my Shop at the | *Jo. Fletchers* Head on the back-ſide of St. *Clements,* | they may be furniſhed with all the Playes that were | ever yet Printed. |" It is notable that the second advertisement contains a stop-press correction, i.e., "Gentlemen" for "Gentleman." Out of four second-state copies that I have examined, three have the correction. Q_2 is also interesting for the fact that the text of the play begins on B_1r, the preliminaries being a half-sheet of K, as was true of Q_1. Now, sheet A-K of Q_2 exhibits the same varieties of watermarks as are found in the other sheets of the edition. The conclusion is inevitable that the printing of sheet A-K, the last to be printed, was twice stopped for changes; once to insert the new part of the imprint and the new advertisement, a second time for the correction just cited. I find that thirteen copies of the "Crofts" state survive, to six of the "Kirkman."[24]

I have called the "Kirkman" state the "second"; but Sir Walter Greg observes that "There is nothing to indicate the direction of the change."[25] However, he then cites two advertisements of 1662 which say that *SG* is "printed for, and sold by" Kirkman or Nathanial Brook, his partner. It seems that *SG* was one of the plays to which Kirkman really acquired title, and that it was not a piracy like "those other Playes, which *Kirkman,* and his Hawkers have deceived the buyers withall, selling them at treble the value," as Ann Moseley and Humphrey Robinson said angrily in 1661 on the title page of *The Beggars' Bush.*[26]

It can hardly be questioned that the printers of Q_2 were Thomas Childe and Leonard Parry, partners, whose work may be ex-

[24] I have examined ten of the American copies of Q_2, and on that basis would correct Greg's list in *A Bibliography,* II, 834, by adding a University of Illinois copy to the "Crofts" group and a University of Illinois and second Folger copy to the "Kirkman" group, for a total of nineteen copies.

[25] *Idem.*

[26] Kirkman's "hawkers" were his partners in a syndicate which included Nathanial Brook, Thomas Johnson, and Henry Marsh. R. C. Bald, "Francis Kirkman, Bookseller and Author," *Modern Philology,* XLI (1943), 23-24.

amined in several books done for Edward Thomas in the years 1659-1661. In these books I have not been able to find another impression of the initial R found on B_1r of Q_2; and at that late stage of English printing the bands of fleurons, urns, and the like, which are found in *SG* have been so widely imitated and dispersed that they are of small use in identifying a printer. However, very similar bands are found in *Ῥαψῳδιων Ἐνταξια or, Select Poems . . . By J. P. Cantabr.* [*John Paradise?*] "Printed by *T. Child*, and *L. Parry*, for *Edward Thomas*," 1661. On the head title of this book (signature D_1r) occur P's and N's which show breaks identical with those in the same letters on the head title of *SG*, B_1r.

Childe and Parry used one skeleton to print sheet B, and two skeletons for the remaining sheets.[27] A and K may have been done by half-sheet imposition. The only two stop-press variants occur on the outer forme of C, at the time the second press was beginning work. Two other variants in the quarto are due to loosening of the type, and one is due to dropping out of the type and pieing that resulted from its hasty restoration (on F_3v, "you know" has become "ynou ow"). There seems to have been an accident to the inner forme of E in the press, for roman capital T's replace italic ones and other typographical changes show that the running titles were partly reset during the printing; the type of the catchword on E_1v was so high that it tore the paper of some copies.

The paper used in this edition is of medium quality and shows four varieties of the grapes mark, which Heawood describes as

[27] The series of running titles:
B_1v, B_2v, C_1r, D_1r, E_1r, F_1r, G_1r, H_1r, I_1r, K_1v
B_2r, C_3v, D_3v, E_3v, F_1v, G_2r, H_2r, I_2r
B_3r, C_3r, D_3r, E_3r, F_3r, G_3r, H_3r, I_3r, K_2r
B_3v, B_4v, C_2v, D_2v, E_2v, F_2v, G_2v, H_2v, I_2v
B_4r, C_2r, D_2r, E_2r, F_4r, G_4r, H_4r, I_4r
C_1v, D_1v, E_1v, F_3v, G_1v, H_1v, I_1v
C_4r, D_4r, E_4r, F_2r, G_3v, H_3v, I_3v
C_4v, D_4v, E_4v, F_4v, G_4v, H_4v, I_4v, K_1r

a typical French mark found in many English books throughout the seventeenth century.[28] In eight copies examined in hand I find the relation between the marks and the sheets as printed is haphazard; the stock of paper, therefore, had the marks mingled in the same way.

Because of its origin as a routine reprint, Q_2 has no authority for a critical edition of *SG*.

[28] "Papers Used in England after 1600," *The Library*, 4th series, XI (1930), 282. The four varieties, which have no countermarks or banderoles, do not appear exactly in any of Heawood's reproductions; the nearest in *Watermarks* are 2101, 2103, and 2106.

Bibliographical Notes

A Bestseller Brought up to Date: Later Printings of Robert Greene's "A Disputation Between a He Cony-Catcher and a She Cony-Catcher" (1592)

In 1591 and 1592 Robert Greene produced in rapid succession six cony-catching exposés. These allegedly factual reports warned "Gentlemen, Marchants, Apprentises, and Countrey Farmers" against the trickeries of sixteenth-century rascals and thieves, and implored justices of the peace "to shewe themselues *patres patriae*, by weeding out such worms as eat away the sappe of the Tree, and rooting this base degree of Cooseners out of so peaceable and prosperous a countrey."[1] Greene, who had become a popular writer of romances, had about 1590 publicly repented of his frivolity (a frivolity which in his final two autobiographical works was to be magnified, in Bunyan-like fashion, into sin of such enormity that his soul was in jeopardy), and had taken as his motto *Nascimur pro patria.* Tales of prodigal-son repentance had become fashionable, as had patriotic pamphlets after the naval triumph of 1588, but Greene sweetened his warnings to his countrymen: he related pleasant stories of cony-catchers and, in fact, obviously reveled in the ingenious duplicities of his pickpockets and rogues. Despite, in short, his no doubt sincere concern for public morality and his abhorrence of his own profligacy, he could not change Robin Greene into a stern moralist; he remained the same charming but confused bohemian who delighted in his notoriety and in his popularity as the bestselling pamphleteer of the era.

A Disputation between a He Cony-Catcher and a She Cony-Catcher probably appeared in the spring of 1592. (Since there is no entry in the Stationers' Register, the exact date cannot be established.)

A DISPVTATION, | Betweene a Hee Conny-catcher, and a | Shee Conny-

[1] *A Notable Discovery of Cosenage*, ed. G. B. Harrison (London, 1923), p. 11. I include in these exposés *The Defense of Cony-Catching* (1592), a work allegedly written by Cuthbert Cony-Catcher, an avowed "enemy" of Greene, for reasons I have advanced in articles in *N & Q*, CXCVI (1951), 509-512; CXCVII (1952), 446-451.

catcher, whether a Theefe or a Whoore, is | most hurtfull in Cousonage, to the Com- | mon-wealth. | DISCOVERING THE SECRET VILLA- | nies of alluring Strumpets. | With the Conuersion of an English Courtizen, reformed | this present yeare, 1592. | Reade, laugh, and learne. | *Nascimur pro patria.* | R. G. | [Woodcut] | Imprinted at London, by A. I. for T. G. and are to be solde at | the West ende of Paules. 1592.[2]

Up to the present time, bibliographical evidence indicates that only one edition of the tract appeared in the year of publication. This, however, does not prove that there were no additional printings, since extant copies of Greene's pamphlets are not numerous; furthermore, his tracts were so ephemeral and, more importantly perhaps, so popular that they were devoured by readers. (As I have shown elsewhere, of the eight known copies of the 1592 edition of *A Quip for an Upstart Courtier* six constitute separate printings.) If the *Disputation* did not meet with favor when it first appeared, one can only express amazement, since it contains all the ingredients usually necessary for popular success. It is amusing: Laurence, a foist or pickpocket, argues at length with Nan, a "Traffique" or whore, in an attempt to demonstrate that he is "most preiuditiall" to society. That Nan wins the verbal duel only heightens the entertainment. It promises revelations of the activities of strumpets: the promises for the most part are of the titillating kind, since frequently "inside," specific details are only vague generalities. In addition, the *Disputation* contains some of the most interesting tales that Greene ever related, and, artistically, the work is more unified than are his other rogue tracts.

If the *Disputation* did not achieve additional printings when it was issued, it was not neglected in the seventeenth century. In 1615 it appeared under a new title, *Thieves Falling Out*, and was reprinted in 1617, 1621, and 1637.[3]

[2] All quotations from the 1592 edition are from Harrison's reprint, which contains the title-page in facsimile. In dating the *Disputation* I have accepted the arguments of René Pruvost, *Robert Greene et ses romans* (Paris, 1938), p. 464. For an account of the printings of other cony-catching tracts, see Francis R. Johnson, "The Editions of Robert Greene's Three Parts of 'Conny-Catching': A Bibliographical Analysis," *The Library*, 5th series, IX (1954), 17-24. See also my "Editions of Robert Greene's *A Quip for an Upstart Courtier* (1592)," *SB*, VI (1953-1954), 107-116.

[3] I have used the unique copy of the 1615 edition in the Bodleian, the 1621 impression in the Houghton Library, and the 1637 edition in the Folger Shakespeare Library. The 1637 edition has been reprinted in *The Harleian Miscellany* (London, 1811), VIII, 382-403. According to the *Short-Title Catalogue*, the 1617 edition was printed by Henry Bell. The 1621 edition was printed "by *Bernard Alsop* for *Henry Bell*," and the 1637 version was "Printed for *Henry* and *Moses Bell*."

Theeues falling out, True- | men come by their Goods: | OR, | The Belman wanted a Clapper. | A Peale of new Villanies rung out; | The sound being Musicall | to all Gentlemen, Lawyers, Farmers, and all sorts of | people that come vp to the Tearme: Shewing that | the Villanies of leawd Women, | excell those of Men. | *Goe not by mee, but Buy mee; and get by mee.* | [Woodcut] | Imprinted at London for T. G. and are to be sould by | *R. Marchant* at the Crosse in Pauls Church-yard. 1615.

As a recorder of the underworld Greene had been succeeded by Thomas Dekker, whose *Bellman of London* (1608) and *Lanthorn and Candlelight* (1608) went through many editions up to 1640. (That Dekker had raided Greene's works was not important to contemporary readers and publishers.)[4] Thus the new version of the *Disputation* capitalized upon Dekker's success in the sub-title *The Belman wanted a Clapper*.

Thomas Gubbins, whose initials appear on the title-pages of both the 1592 and 1615 editions, substituted for Greene's leisurely and didactic preface a much more racy foreword, probably composed by one of the hacks in his employ, which makes no pretense of reforming anything or anybody but promises delight: "Behold a couple newly alighted on the Pearch; a *Hee-Foyst*, and a *Shee-Foyst*: What they chirrup out, their owne Voyces can best deliuer; and therefore listen to them. Suppose you heare the first of them setting foorth a throate thus." This preface is signed "R. G.," as in the 1592 edition. That "R. G." probably meant nothing to seventeenth-century readers worried Gubbins not at all: saleability was his sole concern. Shortly after the appearance of the 1615 edition Gubbins transferred his rights to Henry Bell, who was the publisher of the next three editions. In the 1621 and 1637 printings (I have not seen the 1617 edition) Greene's name appears in full on the title-page and at the conclusion of the preface. Since many of Greene's pamphlets were reprinted until 1640 (twelve impressions of his works have been recorded between 1616 and 1625), his name evidently still attracted customers to the bookstalls in St. Paul's Churchyard. At least for John Davies, whose *Scourge for Paper-Persecutors* appeared in 1625, Greene's name was still associated with cony-catching revelations and the "Reames and Quires" wasted upon such books: "But let him goe, he long since dead hath beene, | In body dead, but yet his name is *Greene*" (sig. B1).

Besides adding preliminary material which was not too subtly directed to a new audience for these old disclosures, the 1615 editor also endeavored to give the pamphlet a semblance of newness. To create a fac-

[4] See my "Thomas Dekker, Hack Writer," *N & Q*, n. s., II (1955), 145-150.

titious immediacy, the names of the central characters and references to places and to topical matters were altered. Nan and Laurence give way to Kate and Stephen, and the first speech of the male indicates the "new" topicality:

Faire *Nan* well met, what newes about your Vine Court (1592).
Faire Kate, well met, what Newes about your Westminster-Building (1615).

"Don Iohn of Austria" (p. 17) evidently was a meaningless allusion, for the 1615 reviser refers to the "Souldado, that euer bare Armes in the *Low-country Warres*" (sig. B1). In their bantering Laurence and Nan mention, and thus advertise, Greene's forthcoming "blacke booke." Greene's threat (p. 30) to expose the two rogues—"my husbandes pettigree, and yours too Lawrence"—is eliminated in 1615; in the 1637 printing, however, the threat is incorporated into a new side-note. (Evidently the printers of this edition, Henry and Moses Bell, had referred to the original version of 1592.) Greene's "fowle Tale of a [jailor] in his black Booke" (pp. 30-31) is transferred in 1615 to the *"Belman,"* who is about to publish a "Second part" (sig. B4v). The following exchange between the two characters indicates the nature of these revisions:

Laur. Nan, Nan, let *R. G.* beware, for had not an ill fortune falne to one of *R. B.* his friends, he could take little harme.
Nan. Who is that Lawrence? (1592, p. 31).
Ste. Kate, Kate, let *I. P.* beware, for had not an ill fortune falne to the Belman, he could take little harme.
Kate. Who is that *Stephen, D. VV.* (1615, sig. C1).[5]

To give his revelations verisimilitude Greene frequently refers to conycatchers either by initials or by full names (probably fictitious). With but one exception (*A. B.* in Turnmill street), the reviser alters initials. *"R. B.* of Long Lane" (p. 30) becomes *"I. P. C."* of unspecified address (sig. B4v); and *"Iacke Rhoades"* (p. 27) is *"W. C."* (sig. B4). The passages describing "Laurence Pickerings" (p. 19), "Richard Chot, and maister Richard Strong" (p. 28), and "sir Iohns Broades men" (p. 39) are omitted. Greene's potentially dangerous allusion to "the Honourable priuie Counsayle" does not appear.

More significant than these alterations and excisions of concrete references are the stylistic adaptations, for they reveal that in the publisher's (or the hack's) judgment taste had changed between 1592 and 1615.

[5] Another reference to the black book (p. 41) is deleted in the 1615 version (sig. C4).

The reviser was either more squeamish than Greene or somewhat more careful not to offend public decency. At any rate a passage relating to the misdeeds of pimps (p. 39) was excised. And so too details of a prostitute's life in England—her arrangements with a bawd, her "desperate oaths," her "beastly" deeds for which "*Messalyna* of Rome might haue bin wayting mayd," and her atheism (pp. 72-74)—all disappear in the revision. The 1621 version goes one step further and banishes profane expletives: "and God wot there was none" (p. 21) becomes "but there was none" (sig. B3); and "I pray God the quarell" (p. 21) is rendered "I feare the quarrell" (sig. B3).[6]

Although Greene had never aped the worst excesses of Euphuism, and although he had stripped his exposés of most traces of the rhetorical flourishes popularized by Lyly, there are vestiges of Euphuism in the *Disputation*. The 1615 editor objected to these embellishments, probably because they were no longer fashionable, and because they marred the simplicity and clarity of the plot line. The section entitled "A watch-word to wanton Maidens," in which the uncle of a girl offers her the platitudinous advice characteristic of euphuistic prodigal-son (or daughter) stories (pp. 46 ff., sigs. D1v ff.), has been drastically shortened by the elimination of a passage juxtaposing the vanities of cosmetic ladies and the virtues of classical women (pp. 47-48), of a long paragraph filled with typical euphuistic proverbs and rhetoric (pp. 48-49), and of a repetitious diatribe in which the girl upbraids her parents for excessive leniency (pp. 52-54). It is perhaps superfluous to add that these excisions give the often-told tale of a wayward young lady a rapid pace it does not have in Greene's rendition. In deleting these passages, as well as the allusions to classical friendship (p. 60), the reviser took out the infrequent Latin quotations with which Greene had somewhat pretentiously adorned his pages. And, rightly, the 1615 edition eliminated the anticlimactic story of a cony-catcher which Greene, in all probability, had inserted to pad out his pamphlet.

Thus we see how a once popular work was made popular again for a more broadly based audience than the amorphous group of readers to whom Greene appealed in 1592. Digressions were ruthlessly cut out, bawdry that might have aroused the objections of increasingly puritanical

[6] The same concern with references to the deity is evident in the editions of Greene's *Quip for an Upstart Courtier* after 1620: "Plaies Gods part" becomes "after his fashion," "by the consent of God" "for any goodness," and "by our Lady" "assuredly." As Master of Revels from 1623-1660, Sir Henry Herbert eliminated from dramas such expressions as "By the Gods" and "By Jesu"; see Frank Fowell and Frank Palmer, *Censorship in England* (London, 1913), p. 75.

magistrates was omitted, and Euphuism with its rhetorical flourishes and affected learning was no longer acceptable. Popular literature, then, consigned to limbo the academic pretensions of university wits like Greene. The mass audience of 1615 was unimpressed by Latin phrases obviously intended to flatter the intelligence of earlier readers. It wanted amusement and excitement—in simple, straightforward English.[7]

EDWIN HAVILAND MILLER

Simmons College

Editorial Mannerisms in the Early "Annual Register"

Ever since 1788 the question of Burke's share in Dodsley's *Annual Register* has been in dispute. In that year the first printed statement about that controversy appeared in a *Catalogue of Five Hundred Celebrated Authors of Great Britain now Living*, a work attributed to one "Marshall." He wrote, "It is an idea . . . that Mr. Burke has had a share in the composition of the historical article in Dodsley's Annual Register. But the inelegant and unliterary manner in which it is usually written, forbids a man of taste from harbouring the suspicion for a moment."[1] From another source we get a conflicting opinion. An early biographer of "Perdita" Robinson tells us that she gave Burke's son one of her poems which he conveyed to his father as editor of the *Register*. The story goes that Burke printed her poem—sometime in the late 1780's—prior to which he sent Mrs. Robinson a highly flattering letter.[2] Were this story true, we should have to revise our most recent findings about Burke's connection with the *Register*. Instead of the current view that Burke ended his editorship in the middle 1760's, we should have to revert to the traditional view that he remained with the *Register* until 1789.[3] But the narrative of Mrs. Robinson's biographer is unsubstantiated. No printing of Mrs. Robinson's poem is to be found in the *Register*. The most exacting researches of the authors of *A Checklist of the Correspondence of Edmund Burke* have not brought to light a single letter from Burke to Mrs. Robinson. Neverthe-

[7] In *The House of Correction* (1619) John Heath capitalizes upon the success of Greene's "new" book in a poem entitled "Theeues falling out, true men come by their goods" (sigs. B6-B6v).

[1] No pagination: to be found under the article on Burke.

[2] *Memoirs of the Late Mrs. Robinson* (London, 1801), II, 116, 120-121.

[3] Bertram D. Sarason, "Edmund Burke and the Two *Annual Registers*," *PMLA*, LXVIII (1953), 496 n.

less, this apocryphal item suggests that Burke might have been interested in the literary matter of the *Register*, its poetry and its book reviews, even after his formal position as editor was terminated. To consider these questions here would be premature until we have first established the date of that termination. Another matter that deserves priority is the problem of determining if Burke wrote the historical article during his term of editorship *by himself*. Scholars agree that the major responsibility of the editor was to write the historical article. There is no question that Burke wrote most of the article.

The evidence available to us permits only a probable conclusion regarding the last issue of the *Register* for which Burke was responsible and a probable conclusion about his having been the sole writer of the historical article during the period of his editorship. It will be maintained here that Burke ended his editorship with the publication of the *Register* for 1764 and that it is more than likely that he wrote the historical article by himself. These opinions are in general agreement with the position of Mr. John Weston, Jr., recently stated in these pages (LI, 247-249); they differ slightly from the views of Mr. Carl B. Cone in his *Burke and the Nature of Politics* (University of Kentucky Press, 1957). The best information available to us is the history of the *Register* as stated by Thomas English in 1795. Extant receipts for work on the *Register* for the issues from 1766 through 1791 establish his definite connection with the Dodsley publication.[4] His character, as reported in an obituary in the *Gentleman's Magazine* (LXVIII [1798], 448-449) describes him as having been "perfectly free from the vanity of an author." His testimony, therefore, especially since it is supported by receipts for a long period of years, is to be respected. English said that he conducted the *Register* from 1765 to 1775 unassisted; thereafter he did have help.[5] Quite obviously, he did not mean that he edited the *Register* for 1764, published in May 1765; but apparently he did mean that he began work in 1765 and was responsible for the issue for that year published in 1766. Mr. Weston suggests the possibility that Burke and English together worked on the *Register* for 1765 (*op. cit.*, 248). Mr. Cone believes that Burke did not sever his

[4] *Notes and Queries*, 1st ser., III, 441; Thomas W. Copeland, *Our Eminent Friend* (New Haven, 1949), 98 n. However, Copeland believed that English started on the *Register* as Burke's assistant, a view entertained by Weston (*op. cit.*, 247). Cone, however, in noting that English received £140 per annum whereas Burke had been paid only £100, disagreed. He wrote, "It seems doubtful that Dodsley would have started English at a higher salary for assisting Burke than Burke was getting only two years earlier for doing the whole job" (*op. cit.*, p. 121 n.).

[5] *Gentleman's Magazine*, LXV (1795), 542.

connection with the *Register* until 1766 "when the prospect of financial independence and his dedication to a political career persuaded Burke to surrender, if he did, the editorship . . ." (*op. cit.*, p. 112). It would appear that Mr. Cone credits Burke with the editorship of the *Register* for 1765.

The best evidence, as has been asserted, is English's own words; and the question to decide is the extent to which we ought take those words literally. As they stand, they indicate that English was responsible for the *Register* for 1765. Assuming that Burke remained with the *Register* until at least mid-July 1765, when he became secretary to the Marquis of Rockingham, English, as his successor, could have written the historical article for that year and could have assembled the miscellaneous sections without undue hardship. From a note of Burke to Dodsley in February 1764, we gather that the historical section was customarily written in the early winter of the following year.[6] That is to say, the historical article for 1765 would normally be written in January and February of 1766. Thus, the writer would have an opportunity to distinguish among the events of the previous year what was significant and what merely contingent. The *Register* for 1765 came out on May 28, 1766, ten days later than usual, the issue for 1764 having appeared on May 18, 1765. It does not look as if English arrived very late on the editorial scene.[7]

But would Burke have immediately resigned his position as editor? If we think of his new position in July 1765 as secretary to the "Prime Minister" of England, we will have a clearer view of his situation. He was at once immersed into the thick of political routine and ordeal—a point which Cone emphasizes on the basis of ample evidence.[8] By June 1766 Burke's correspondence showed an increase of 550% over the year before.[9] A more cogent reason for Burke's yielding his post with the *Register*

[6] British Museum, Add. Ms. 22130. 10, printed by Dixon Wecter, *Edmund Burke and His Kinsmen* (University of Colorado Studies), I (1939), 18 n.; also Copeland, *op. cit.*, p. 97, and Weston, *op. cit.*, p. 247.

[7] Frequent regards were communicated to English through Burke. On November 6, 1765, James Barry, Burke's protégé, sent his best respects to English (*The Works of James Barry* [London, 1809], I, 26).

[8] *Op. cit.*, pp. 73-74. Cone's book, based on the Burke papers at Sheffield and Lamport, is the first thorough and reliable study of Burke's early political years. Impressed by the multiplicity of duties that Burke assumed, Cone felt justified in writing that he was "the party secretary who was concerned with an infinite variety of details, and even the party hack" (*ibid.*, p. 74).

[9] A tally of Burke's known correspondence listed by Milton S. Smith and Thomas W. Copeland, *A Checklist of the Correspondence of Edmund Burke* (Cambridge, 1955) reveals that from June 1, 1764 to May 30, 1765 (the editorial year of the *Register*, so to speak) Burke wrote and received a total of 36 letters. In the follow-

involved the indelicacy, if not the imprudence, of his being the historian in a situation in which he himself had political commitments. In fact, it was advisable for Burke to keep his connection with the *Register* before 1765 a matter of secret; for his views were not always consistent with the politics of the Rockingham party.[10] He had been, as Cone pointed out,[11] quite moderate towards Grenville and quite inimical towards Wilkes. Moreover, the editor of the *Register*, as we shall see shortly, prided himself on his impartiality—a boast, of course, which could not always be adhered to. The wisest thing for Burke to have done, once he was assured of his position with Rockingham—an assurance he received on July 16, 1765—was to resign as editor of the *Register*. Indeed, by the terms of his contract, Burke was required to give the Dodsleys three months' notice.[12] Had he waited, let us say, until the late fall of the year, he might have endangered the publication of the next *Register* altogether by not allowing for enough time for the new editor to work on the forthcoming publication. The probability is that the Dodsleys waived the three months' clause and secured a new editor at once.

In resigning the editorship, Burke had to forego £100 a year. One may agree with Cone that Burke was not yet financially independent, but he was not under the duress of later years. His new position with Rockingham must have provided him with an income sufficient to his needs. Since, as we know, the Burkes shared a common purse, Edmund could count on the help of his brother Richard in an emergency. Richard was now earning £2000 a year.[13] In addition, Edmund could count on the support of Will Burke, who was also placed by the Rockinghams and who already had strong ties with the then affluent Lord Verney.[14] Moreover,

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ing editorial year, June 1, 1765 to May 30, 1766, his known correspondence was 199 items. The multiplication of his duties, clearly indicated by these figures, may be adduced as good reason for his abandoning work on the *Register*.

[10] Burke never admitted his connection with the *Register*. Moreover, although English was his friend and ardent admirer, as we know, there is not a single mention of Burke in the historical article until 1775! The first mention of Burke's name occurs in the *Register* for 1769 but only as one in a list of names in the unimportant Chronicle section (p. 156).

[11] *Op. cit.*, p. 58.

[12] Ralph Straus, *Robert Dodsley* (London, 1910), pp. 257-258.

[13] Cone, *op. cit.*, p. 52. Richard was made receiver-general of Grenada on April 13, 1764. His appointment, no doubt, facilitated Edmund's decision to break with Hamilton and to sacrifice a pension of £300 a year, considerably more than he lost by resigning from the editorship of the *Register*.

[14] *Ibid.*, p. 48.

it is clear that at this point in his life, Burke was gambling on his future; he was determined, as he expressed it in retrospect two years later, to strive forward or "be a little worse than nothing."[15] It is certainly not unthinkable that Burke resigned from his editorship, especially since his having retained that post might prove a future embarrassment.

That a change in the editorship took place for the volume of 1765 is plausible. That change is supported by internal evidence such as has been offered by Mr. Weston who found that the *Register* for 1765 contained anti-Tory and pro-American attitudes not characteristic of the earlier *Registers* (*op. cit.*, p. 248). To this evidence we are now able to point out certain changes of editorial mannerisms between the issues of 1758-1764 and the ensuing issues. Interspersed in the historical articles of the early volumes are certain characteristic editorial expressions: "our accounts" (p. 76, 1758), "it is not fit for us to deliver an opinion" (p. 20, 1759), "the authors of these sheets" (p. 41, 1760), "the writers and the readers of these events" (p. 2, 1761), "the authors of this narrative" (p. 17, 1764), and "the compilers of this work" (p. 30, 1764). To these, one might add similar expressions such as "We are historians, and not advocates" (p. 19, 1761) and "We do not pretend to pass judgment. . . . We relate opinions, as well as facts, historically" (p. 60, 1763). With the volume for 1765 these expressions are no longer to be found. Instead, one encounters a new phrase, used twice: "One is apt to imagine" (p. 40, 65).

But we are faced, in the presence of such expressions as "the compilers of this work," with the suggestion that Burke wrote the historical article in collaboration with others. However, if we examine the context in which "compilers" occurs, we find the word to approximate the editorial "we." Concluding a narrative about the pro and the con of general warrants, one finds the supplementary remark, "No general opinion is given by the compilers of this work on these arguments." But we can be certain that only *one* person has written that sentence, for in the very next column, in a discussion on certain bank contracts, the writer adds, "I believe it was . . . the most beneficial contract ever made. . . ." In like manner, just twenty-five lines after the statement, "We relate opinions, as well as facts, historically," we again realize that only one person has been writing. For, in a discussion regarding certain claims, one reads, "To have insisted on the right of erecting fortifications, would have been making the strongest claims to . . . exclusive dominion . . . a point to which I do

[15] O'Hara Mss., printed by Cone, p. 81.

not find our most extensive claims have ever been carried." Almost always the terms "authors," "writers," and "compilers" are used to indicate editorial impartiality. It is appropriate to observe again that Burke could not very well have maintained that impartiality after his connection with Rockingham.

We have found—what has been hitherto overlooked—that the early issues of the historical article in the *Register* were written in the first person singular. Three illustrations can be cited from the text for 1758 (p. 23, 35, 39), and an equal number for the text of 1760 (p. 4, 5, 29). The pronoun "I" may also be cited in the issues for 1762, 1763, 1764.[16] As these early issues are the ones concerning which we are certain that Burke was the author of the historical article, we have some cogent internal evidence pointing to the fact that he was its sole writer. Moreover, it is worth noting that with the *Register* for 1765 another editorial mannerism changes; for suddenly, the pronoun "I" ceases to be used, yielding to the simple editorial "we." In addition, the introductory sentences of paragraphs are found to begin in increasing number with the expletive "it"—frequently in the *Register* for 1765, markedly in the *Register* for 1766. These stylistic changes, together with those noted by Mr. Weston, support the interpretation we have given to English's statement that he was responsible for the *Register* for 1765.[17]

While we have maintained that Burke wrote the historical article by himself, it is pertinent to add that three possible collaborators have been suggested: William Markham, Dr. Campbell, and William Burke. The last of these names was mentioned by Mr. Weston—but merely as a possible co-worker (*op. cit.*, 249). Of Markham, we are told by his twentieth-century biographer that he "assisted and advised Burke."[18] But his statement is unsupported and it may mean nothing more than that on occasion Burke talked things over with Markham. The belief that Dr. Campbell was associated with Burke in the early years of the *Register*'s history began as literary gossip.[19] It was presented as fact by the spokes-

[16] 1762, p. 61; 1763, p. 32; 1764, pp. 1, 30.

[17] Before changing his opinion, Prior stated in his *Life of Goldsmith* (London, 1837) that Burke edited the *Register* for the first seven years (I, 309) and that thereafter the work was conducted by English (I, 202). An obituary notice for Thomas English in the *European Magazine* of 1798 said that he was believed to have continued the historical article "after that part of the work was relinquished by Mr. Burke, about the year 1765" (XXXIII, 429).

[18] Clements Markham, *Memoir of Archbishop Markham* (Oxford, 1906), p. 12.

[19] In the *European Magazine* for 1791 a report was issued that Dr. Campbell and not Burke, according to "a very eminent bookseller," wrote *An Account of the*

man for the Otridge *Annual Register* in newspaper advertisements in 1798. The Rivingtons, who continued the Dodsley publication, refuted the Otridge story; and there appears no reason why their refutation should be doubted.[20] Indeed, there is no evidence that Burke had an assistant while writing the historical article. And, once again, if we take English literally, it would appear that the *Register* was edited by one person prior to his assuming the editorship. When English declared in 1795 that he had followed the policies originally stated in the *Register* for 1759, he expressed himself by saying that he had not deviated from the principles of "my predecessor."[21]

English's statement is consistent with the internal evidence we have presented in support of the belief that Burke wrote the historical article by himself. Stylistic changes in the *Register* for 1765 indicate that a new editor had succeeded Burke. It would appear then, that the proper interpretation of English's remark that he had edited the *Register* ever since 1765 would be that the volume for that year was the first for which he was responsible. There is no basis for assuming that Burke continued on as a supervisory editor whom English assisted. But none of these conclusions ought to affect our thinking about Burke's contributions to the book review section. He could have written the historical article by himself and still he could have had occasional assistance with the book reviews. Similarly, he could have resigned from the *Register* after the publication of the volume for 1764 and still could have contributed book reviews. But, as has already been noted, these are matters which remain for future discussion after we have identified Burke as the writer of the historical articles for the early issues of the *Register* and after establishing the term of his editorship.

BERTRAM D. SARASON

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European Settlements in America (XVIII, 181). Four years later the author of an article on "Annual Registers" wrote in the *Analytical Review* that Dr. Campbell was the first editor of the Dodsley publication (XXII, 586). The Otridges, or their representative, William Thomson, combined that rumor with the fact that Burke did initiate the *Register*. In their advertisements they held that Burke and Campbell coedited the *Register* at its inception.

[20] Sarason, *op. cit.*, 500-501.

[21] *Gentleman's Magazine*, LXV (1795), 542.

Housman's Sydney Address

Despite his life-long interest in Latin, his contributions to Latin scholarship, and his editions of Manilius, Lucan and Juvenal, A. E. Housman wrote little in Latin himself: "he had little taste for it," says his colleague and biographer Dr. A. S. F. Gow in *A. E. Housman: A Sketch* (Cambridge and New York, 1936, p. 77 n.). These writings in the ancient tongue by the author of *A Shropshire Lad* consist of elegiac dedication in the first Manilius volume to Moses J. Jackson, a translation of a Dryden poem in a school magazine, and eight pieces of Latin prose on walls of buildings in London, Cambridge, and Bromsgrove. All of these latter inscriptions I published in *The Classical Journal*, L (January 1955), 159-166, with a full commentary.

With the help of my colleague, W. Sprague Holden, who was in Australia on a Fulbright grant, and Adelaide University library officials, I have obtained a copy of a Latin address Housman wrote in 1902 for the jubilee celebration of the University of Sydney. The address was published in the *Record of the Jubilee Celebrations of the University of Sydney. September 30th. 1902* (Sydney, William Brooks and Co., Limited, 1903, p. 144). It is listed in John Carter and John Sparrow, *A. E. Housman: An Annotated Hand-List* (London, 1952, p. 26). The address is from University College, London, and is signed by its president; but we have Dr. Gow's word (*op. cit.*, p. 80 n.) that it was written by Housman: "I have seen a draft in Housman's hand for a Latin address from University College to the University of Sydney, and I suppose that as Professor of Latin at University College [1892-1911] he may have been called upon for other such addresses." No others have turned up. As the Sydney address has never been collected or reprinted it might be worthwhile to have it available:

UNIVERSITY COLLEGE, LONDON.

UNIVERSITATI SYDNEIENSI COLLEGIUM LONDINENSE

UNIVERSITATI AFFINE

S.P.D.

Litteris vestris humanissimis in communionem laetitiae vocati, qua natalem Universitatis Sydneiensis quinquagensimum celebraturi estis, etsi quominus animo obsequamur et ex nostro numero aliquem ad vos mittamus obstiterunt tanta itinerum interjecta spatia, tamen invenimus quomodo Horatianum illud, nequiquam terras Oceano dissociabili abscissas esse, novo

comprobemus exemplo. Nam civem vestrum, alumnum nostrum, Angelum Money, M.D., B.S. virum in medica arte sollertissimum rogavimus ut Londinensis Londinensium legatus esse velit, quinquaginta annos cum maxima doctrinae laude feliciter peractos Sydneiensis Sydneiensibus gratuletur. Hunc igitur testem habetote academias tanto locorum intervallo divisas animo tamen ac mente conjunctissimas esse et artissimo communium studiorum vinculo cohaerere.

Scriptum Londini, die XX. mensis Junii, anni MDCCCCII.

Reay,
Collegii Praeses.

Professor Thomas Cutt, of Wayne State University's Department of Greek and Latin, has been kind enough to make what he calls a very free rendition into English of the address, adding that a literal translation destroys all the fine rhetoric of a well-written document:

Cordial greetings from University College, London, to the University of Sydney.

Being invited by your very kind letter to share in the delight with which you are about to celebrate the fiftieth anniversary of the University of Sydney, although the length of such a journey has prevented our following our impulses and sending you a representative from our own faculty, yet we have found a way by which to prove by an unusual procedure the truth of Horace's celebrated aphorism, "All to no purpose has the sundering ocean set the continents apart." We have prevailed upon Angel Money, M. D., B. S., who is an alumnus of ours and a fellow citizen of yours, a man highly skilled in the art of medicine, to be, as a Londoner, the representative of Londoners, and as a citizen of Sydney, to convey to the people of Sydney our congratulations upon fifty years of success in distinguished achievement in science. Consider him, therefore, witness to the fact that our seats of learning, which are separated by so great a distance, are nevertheless in mind and spirit firmly united and joined together in the unyielding bonds of common interests and pursuits.

London, 20 June 1902.

Reay,
President of the College.

William White

Wayne State University

A 19th-Century American Two-City Cancel

William Carus. *The Faithful Servant. The Life and Labors of the Rev. Charles Simeon. Selected . . . by Rt. Rev. William Meade, D.D.* Philadelphia, Edward Gaskill. 1853. 1_1 is the half-title. 1_2 is the title page with the printers' names at the foot of the verso: Philadelphia, T. K. and P. G. Collins, Printers.

This was also issued in New York with a cancelled title. The 1_2 cancel was pasted to the stub of the cancelled 1_2, which was torn (not cut) off, apparently against a straight edge. The new title page was completely reset, and was identical in wording as far as the imprint, which on the 1_2 cancel was changed to read: New-York, Depository of Protestant Episcopal Society for Promotion of Evangelical Knowledge. J. H. Watson, Agent, No. 10 Bible House. 1853. The cancel verso is blank.

It will be noted that the identity of imprint dates apparently precludes any idea of a remainder issue. This seems, therefore, to be a straightforward case of a second publisher's issuing a book with a substituted imprint from another city. The wonder is not that it took more than one publisher to dispose of the work, but rather that anyone should have wanted to publish the book in the first place.

John Cook Wyllie

University of Virginia

A Frontier Library: the Books of Isaac McCoy

When that restless frontiersman Isaac McCoy settled near the Kansas border in 1830 to divide his time between evangelizing the Indians and running official surveys, he took with him what was probably the first considerable library to reach the threshold of the Indian country. The information available on the movement of the books is vague indeed, for the list of titles is merely headed "Books taken westward by McCoy & Lykins, Oct 1, 1828—they are accreditable to the Board for the books & other articles."[1] This is a date that cannot be explained, for on that day McCoy was returning to St. Louis from his first exploring trip in the Indian country; he was then a few miles east of Fayette, Missouri, and did not reach St. Louis until the 6th or 7th of the month.[2] Johnston Lykins'

[1] Isaac McCoy, *Letters*, Vol. 16, McCoy MSS, Kansas Historical Society.

[2] Lela Barnes, "Journal of Isaac McCoy for the Exploring Expedition of 1828," *Kansas Historical Quarterly*, V (August 1936), 261, 264.

whereabouts are uncertain: apparently he was at Carey Mission in Indiana. In McCoy's journals of this year, moreover, there is no mention of books. Nor were the books taken to western Missouri this autumn, for McCoy and Lykins did not move from Indiana until the next year, McCoy to stop first in Fayette County and then to settle on the border in 1830.

The contents of this library, however, are of more interest than its travels. The collection was by no means limited to divinity and church history: it contained besides some useful books on agriculture, bookkeeping, grammar, and the like, a number of volumes of history and two important accounts of western travel. The titles with their valuations were:

2 setts Jones Church History @ $5	10.00
1 Sett 2 vols Longs Expedition	4.00
1 Set Lewis & Clarks Expedion [*sic*]	4.00
1 Bucks Theo Dictionary Sec. hand	1.00
8 vols Rollin History	7.00
1 Conversation on Mineralogy	1.00
1 Sett McKenzy's Voyage	2.00
1 Blairs Lecture	.50
1 History U. S.	.75
2 Murrays Grammars	1.50
1 Benedick His all Religions	1.00
1 Davys Agriculture	.75
1 Saunders on the Liver	.25
1 Heckewelders	.75
1 Indian Treaties	1.00
1 Horn on Missions	.37
1 Sheys Book Keeping	.37
1 Wuce [?] England Fathers	.75
1 Wats on the Mind	.75
1 Fullers Letters worn	.37
1 Roms [?] Letters do	.25
1 vol. History England do	.50
1 Con. on Philosophy do	.37
1 Sett Browns Missions	[no value noted]
1 Sett Benedicts Baptists	[no value noted]
1 Morses Report, Ind.	.75
1 Barlows Indian origin (old)	.37
2 Rippons Hymns	1.00
1 Miltons works	[no value noted]
1 Whitefield's Sermons	.62

1 Fullers Gospel do	.50
1 Christian Researches do	.37
1 Pleasure contemplations	.50
1 Am. Standard	.75
2 vols. Tracts @ 50	1.00
1 Therons Aspacio [?]	.50
1 Devout Ex	.25
1 Acadama Celestes	.25
1 Brainards Mem.	.75
1 Fishers Companion	.50
1 Doddredge Exper	.25
1 Scotts Essays	.50
1 Staughton Mission	.50
Total of amt of books	$48.59
1 Walkers Dichonary	1.00

We took 1 entire sett Latter Day Luminary—
1 Extract from North Am. Review by Cass—
1 Waylands Sermon on Missions—
1 Pinzyllys Baptism
Some tracts and few other pamphlets

Two other entries in McCoy's manuscripts add to the history of his library. Ten years later (1838) when he was preparing for a trip to Washington, D. C., he planned to buy a number of interesting works of travel and exploration. In a little notebook headed "Business at Washington" appears the notation *"Book—Buy,"* followed by a list of titles:[3]

Purchas's Pilgrims—of this 3 or more Vols.
Memoir of Sebastian Cabot
Discovery & Adventure in the Polar Seas, Fam. Liby, No. 14
Lives & Voyages of Drake, Cavendish, & Dampier—Fam. Liby, No. 30
Forster's Discoveries in the North
Murray's North America—more than one vol.
Harris' Collection of Voyages—2, or more Vols.
Coxe's Russian Discoveries
Burneys Hist. of N. Estn. Voyages of Discovery
Mears Voyages—more than one vol.
Hearne's Journey (to Coppermine River)
Franklins Journey—4 or more Vols. 1829
Franklins Second Journey
Journal of Voyages & Travel in the Interior of N. Am.

[3] McCoy *Letters*, Vol. 25.

between the 47th & 50th deg. Lat. by Dan[l] W[m] Harmon,
of N. W. Co. Andover, 1820
Gumere's Surveying
The Book of the Indians 5th edition

Whether McCoy bought these books is unknown, but a later notation in the same record book listed among expenses of this trip east the purchase of seven more titles and a reference to still another intended purchase:[4]

[March 1]	Congressional Directory		.25
[March 4]	Intelligencer 1 month		1.00
[March 6]	Dictionary		.75
[March 10]	Polyglot Bible		1.25
[March 26]	Gumere's Surveying		2.00
	Life of Black Hawk		.50
[April 9]	Transaction Am. Antiquarian Society		
	Vol. 1	4.25	
	Vol. 2	4.50	8.75
[April 20]	a pamphlet		.25

. . . . . .

I must b[u]y some time History of Indian Tribes of North America by T. C. McKenny & James Hall, Philadelphia—Ed. C. Biddle.

No doubt these were but few among many of the books McCoy possessed either at the mission or in his own private library. In his will, made July 30, 1835, he devised his journals of the mission, other manuscripts, books he "shall have written," and "all other books in my possession" first to his wife and then to his descendants.[5] However, neither in the inventory of his property made August 4, 1849, nor in other probate papers pertaining to his estate is there any mention of books.[6]

John Francis McDermott

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[4] *Ibid.* It is interesting to note that on April 13 he bought a ticket (fifty cents) to Catlin's exhibition.

[5] *Missouri Valley Historical Society Publication*, I, No. 1 (1921), 95.

[6] Box M5, Probate Court Files, Jackson County, Missouri.

"The Whole Family" and Henry James

The Whole Family (N. Y., Harper, 1908) is a composite novel written by a dozen authors of the day, conspicuous among whom were William Dean Howells, who suggested the idea to Elizabeth Jordan, editor of *Harper's Bazar* (where it appeared serially)—and Henry James. In the February 1958 issue of the *Bulletin of the New York Public Library*, Leon Edel of New York University and Lyall H. Powers of the University of Wisconsin present the correct text of the letters written by James to Miss Jordan ("Henry James and the *Bazar* Letters," pp. 75-103), now in the Manuscript Division of the Library. They write: "The story of this novel was recounted by Miss Jordan in *Three Rousing Cheers* [New York, Appleton-Century, 1938] and subsequently by R. B. McElderry, Jr., in 'Henry James and *The Whole Family*,' in the *Pacific Spectator* (IV, Summer 1950, 352-356)." Some pages were also devoted to it by the writer of this Note in an article, "Novels by Several Hands" (*The Colophon*, n.s. 3, no. 3 [1938], pp. 364-376), which is not mentioned by Professors Edel, Powers, or McElderry. It was no surprise to him to learn that the text of some of the letters quoted in Miss Jordan's autobiography is corrupt, since her account of the Lizzie Borden case is hair-raisingly wrong, and there are other inaccuracies—almost as many, in fact, as crop up in the footnotes to the Edel-Powers paper. This posthumous castigation of Miss Jordan (1867-1947) is, no doubt, right and necessary, but the editors themselves seem a little vulnerable.[1]

Footnote Four: "See the pertinent comments of F. O. Matthiessen and Kenneth B. Murdock, eds., *The Notebooks of Henry James* (New York, 1905 [*sic*]), 192-194." The comments must have been precocious on Matthiessen's part, since he was three years old at the time. (The correct date is 1947.)

Footnote Five: "George Brinton McLellan [*sic*] Harvey." The name is, of course, McClellan. Harvey was named for the Civil War general.

Footnote Eight: "Agnes Repplier (1858-1950) . . . author of several novels [*sic*] and biographical studies, etc." If Miss Repplier ever wrote any novels, she certainly never published them.

Footnote 27: "Edith Franklin Wyatt (1873- [?])." The question

[1] The letters were recently reprinted in a pamphlet: *Howells and James: a Double Billing. W. D. Howells on Novel-Reading; an Impersonal Explanation, ed. by William M. Gibson. Henry James and the Bazar Letters. Edited by Leon Edel and Lyall H. Powers.* New York, The New York Public Library, 1958. Paper. 55 pp. 50 cents. The errors have not been corrected in the reprint.

mark seems unnecessary. Miss Wyatt's name still appears in *Who's Who in America.*

Footnote 56: "Alice Brown wrote several novels, e.g. [*sic*] *Children of the* [*sic*] *Earth.*" *Children of Earth* is a play.

It might be added that it is not so strange (Footnote 20) that "James consistently misspelled the name of *Harper's Bazar.*" The periodical itself has wavered between *Bazar* (as it was then) and *Bazaar,* as it became in 1929. As James Playsted Wood rather incoherently explains in his *Magazines in the United States* (N. Y., Ronald Press, 1956): "*Harper's Bazar* was founded in 1867, after Fletcher Harper had seen and admired a German fashion magazine called *Der Bazar.* Already the publisher of two very successful magazines, a weekly and a monthly, he resolved to produce an equally good magazine which be [*sic*] 'a respository [*sic*] of fashion, pleasure, and instruction for American women.' The spelling of the key word in the title was changed from *Bazar* to *Bazaar* in 1929."

Earle F. Walbridge

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Book Reviews

Bibliography of American Literature. Compiled by Jacob Blanck for the Bibliographical Society of America. [Device.] *Volume Two. George W. Cable to Timothy Dwight.* New Haven, Yale University Press; London, Oxford University Press, 1957. xix, 534 pp. Plates. 10½ x 7¼ inches. $17.50.

Volume Two (Cable to Dwight) of the *Bibliography of American Literature* should be received with genuine satisfaction by librarians, scholars, book dealers and collectors. The success of the first volume augurs well for the reception of the new one, particularly since the initial volume contained no such galaxy of important American writers as Samuel L. Clemens, James Fenimore Cooper, Stephen Crane and Emily Dickinson.

The issuance of these successive volumes is impressive evidence of the tremendous growth of interest in collecting American Literature during the past three decades. Before that time there was not a handful of American writers outside of the New England group and Irving, Poe and Bryant considered worthy of being collected in depth. Moreover, the number of institutions engaged in expanding their general holdings in the American field was pitifully small. This indifference may be said to have vanished almost completely, and it is commonplace for collectors, dealers and institutional libraries to compete vigorously for the printed rarities, not to mention manuscripts and other research material, of the 285 authors whose works will be described in this bibliographical omnibus.

These volumes are, therefore, coming out at a most appropriate time, and the only regret is that all ten volumes contemplated cannot be issued simultaneously. This unfortunately is not possible as the editor and his assistants are subject to the usual limitations on human energy. An increase in personnel would serve little purpose, as an important feature of the project lies in a unifying supervision and control by the editor. Here it might be said that potential bibliographers may be born but they nevertheless must be trained. It is fortunate that this enterprise commands the services of an editor such as Mr. Jacob Blanck, who is not only a born

bibliographer but one who, during a long career, has acquired a mastery of technique and a uniquely rich experience and knowledge of the material in the realm of American Literature.

Interested individuals can therefore rely on expert and trustworthy description of the publications listed, and these will be particularly welcome in the cases of two major writers, Clemens and Cooper, since the most recent bibliographies of these authors appeared about twenty-five years ago. More up-to-date information is available about the works of Stephen Crane and Emily Dickinson. Here it may be emphasized that this work is not intended to and can in no sense take the place of a thoroughgoing individual bibliography. Space would certainly not permit a complete listing of biographical and critical material nor of periodical appearances.

That part of the volume devoted to the four great writers whose names fall in the C-D division represents, of course, only a portion of the wealth of bibliographical information contained therein. The works of 45 authors are included and among them are such important novelists as John W. De Forest of Connecticut and John Esten Cooke of Virginia, consummate chroniclers of the Civil War in a long series of novels. Three of the important regional fiction writers covered are George W. Cable and Kate Chopin of Louisiana fame and Mary Hartwell Catherwood, much esteemed by the historian Francis Parkman. Also included is the prolific F. Marion Crawford, nephew of Julia Ward Howe.

Particularly valuable is the bibliographical identification of the works of William Dunlap, a pioneer in developing the American theatre. One also finds the listed productions of George Henry Calvert, author of the poetic drama *Arnold and André*.

In the field of poetry, aside from the ineffable Emily, a section is devoted to that rare character Thomas Holley Chivers, friend and enemy of Poe, whose books are the rarest in American Literature. There is reproduced the title page of his first volume *The Path of Sorrow*, known only by three copies, the story of each of which is an exciting tale of book collecting. The "mad" poet McDonald Clarke is treated in all of his bibliographical complexities.

The professional humorists are represented by Charles Augustus Davis of "Major Jack Downing" fame and George Horatio Derby ("John Phoenix"), author of *Phoenixiana!*

The volume includes the authors of two famous juveniles: Richard Henry Dana, Jr., and Mary Mapes Dodge, who produced the classic *Two Years Before the Mast* and *Hans Brinker, or the Silver Skates*.

The foregoing is an indication of the rather rich vein of American Literature which the Bibliography strikes in its alphabetical progression. The thirty-three illustrations are mostly of publications distinguished by their rarity and as such are calculated to make the mouths of librarians and collectors water. Their value in helping to identify first appearances is evident.

This volume necessarily follows the bibliographical criteria laid down in an introduction section of Volume I. On the whole the general scheme serves well and the data are presented in a lucid and logical manner. The use of lower case letters for minor items is somewhat confusing to the eye, and the relative importance of these publications might well have been left to the user of the work.

All in all a well-nigh indispensable tool has been added to the reference shelf.

C. Waller Barrett

Norton, F. J. *Italian Printers 1501-1520: An Annotated List, with an Introduction.* London, Bowes and Bowes, 1958. xxxiv, 177 pp. 11 illustrations, 1 map. 10 x 7 inches. Cloth. 75 shillings to non-members. (Cambridge Bibliographical Society, Monograph no. 3.)

Though one of the youngest in its field, the Cambridge Bibliographical Society has already, with energetic enthusiasm, firmly established itself as a major center for bookish studies. The present volume would do honor to *any* learned society. Mr. Norton's work is a contribution of inestimable value; it is fortunate, therefore, that this monograph has also been made available to non-members. Since it is self-evident that all libraries, collectors, and dealers interested in this period will surely want—and will certainly need—this excellent reference work, the decision of the Society to offer this book to the general public, rather than simply confining its distribution to the members, will be warmly welcomed as a generous contribution to scholarly endeavor.

Mr. Norton's work deals with the following subject: "For the years 1501 to 1520 some account has been given of the extent and character of the production of each printer, together with such biographical details as may be gleaned from colophons, printed documentary sources and published histories of individual presses" (p. ix). In order to accomplish this end, "the material has been arranged in alphabetical order of places and under them of printers." Thus, this excellent work is ideally arranged so as to make the information it contains readily available to the reader. Not

the least of the book's value lies in the numerous obscure or forgotten bibliographical references to which attention is called in the appropriate places.

The amount of accurate information here provided is simply astonishing. At every point the reader will discover new facts or familiar details brought to bear on unfamiliar situations. Picking an "opening" at random (pp. 116-117), one finds an account of the printing activity in two of the smaller centers: Toscolano and Trino. Under the former, Mr. Norton points out that Isaac's date of [1520?] for five books (Isaac 13932-36) printed in the small italic type of Alexander de Paganinis is probably a good bit too early; the books may well be *post* 1527. Thus the famous Dante (Isaac 13934) which was dated by Sander (no. 2318) as [*c.* 1506] and as [1515?] by the Fiske catalogue must be excluded from the period covered by Messrs. Isaac and Norton. Under Trino, we meet with Joannes Jolitus, the father of the celebrated Gabriel Giolito, who worked in Venice later in the century. Both here and under Venice, we can recall that Trino (population 10,702 in 1955) was, in its day, a veritable cradle of printing. In the fifteenth century, we find four kinsmen from this place at work in Venice (Guilelmus Anima Mia, Joannes Tacuinus, and Antonio and Rinaldo da Trino), still another Venetian printer from Trino (Bernardinus Stagninus, who was in turn related to the Giolitos), and finally Girardus de Zeiis, who was active as a publisher at Pavia in 1499 and subsequently returned to Trino. On p. 154, Mr. Norton points out that we learn through the colophon of Calepinus's *Dictionarium* of 1521 that Stagninus also bore the name Jolitus and therefore was presumably related to the Joannes of that name. In the Morgan copy of this book (PML 24515), the colophon appears to be dated 1512 and the prefatory letter now bears the date 1510. Such dates were needed by a former owner who wished to make it appear that this copy had been bound for a French king, Louis XII (d. 1515). That the dates in the colophon and of the letter have been tampered with can easily be demonstrated. In the colophon, a Bonifacius is cited as the Marchese of Monferrato; however, in 1512 the Marquis was Guglielmo VIII, who was succeeded by Bonifazio IV on October 4, 1518. Pope Leo X is named in the prefatory letter, even though Giovanni de' Medici was not elected to the papacy until March 11, 1513 (Julius II still being Pope in 1510). The would-be faker's path is strewn with pitfalls of this sort!

In the many places where I have checked specific details, I have found Mr. Norton to be almost incredibly accurate. Such very few slips as I have come across were, without exception, of the slightest and most in-

consequential nature (e.g., Carpēsis is omitted after Māgius in the extract on p. 63). Then too, Mr. Norton has sometimes been misled by his sources, for which he can hardly be blamed when the originals were inaccessible to him. On p. 58, the last dated book by Antonius de Frizis is listed as "Succinta Insturatio de Balneis totius Campaniae," following Sander 2540. Both Mr. Norton and I had searched for many years for a copy of this edition. The only recorded one has finally been traced to the Wellcome Historical Medical Library. Here, the title-page reads: "Succinta instauratio de Balneis toti' cāpanie . . ." The work is specifically dated: "Die uero .XV. Mensis Februarii."

Omissions and differences of opinion may well, of course, be noted. Mr. Norton has failed to list the Bolognese printer Andrea de Bellacorda who, according to the catalogue of the Biblioteca Colombina (VI, 75) produced a *Pronóstico* by Marco Scribanario, apparently printed in 1501, with the imprint: "Impresso per mi Andrea de Bellacorda." This printer also issued one other prognosticon before 1501 (cf. GW 254). For Bologna, Mr. Norton records the press of Ercole Nani (pp. 11-12), who is here credited with a single unsigned and undated tract by Carlo Drusiano (Isaac 13717). Without being able to verify my vague suspicion, this would seem to be an Italian version of the Latin prognosticon which Nani is supposed to have printed about 1493 (GW 9061); the translation may well have been printed about the same time, if one may argue from the normal practice for the printing of the prognostica followed by the Bolognese printers of the day. So it may come to pass that the name of Ercole Nani will have to be deleted from the roster of sixteenth-century presses active in Bologna. Finally, Giovanni Andrea Vavassore is not listed among the Venetian printers. This may be justified on the basis that he was an artist rather than a press-man, though his curious block-book (*Opera nova contemplativa*) certainly required press-work. The book is included by Essling (I, 201-211), by Schreiber (IV, 105-113), and by Sander (no. 1006–*c.* 1510-1512), and Vavassore is called a "Drucker" both by Löffler-Kirchner (III, 485) and by Thieme-Becker (XXXIV, 143-144). A passing reference to him might have been suitably included in the volume because of the peculiar nature of his work, even though he may not have been a printer working with movable type.

For a work of this scholarly magnitude, the very few corrections and quite minor questions that I have called attention to are of the most trivial sort. It is manifest that this reviewer's highly favorable opinion of the work will grow with the constant use to which Mr. Norton's monograph will

unquestionably be subjected. *Italian Printers 1501-1520* is heartily to be recommended to everyone interested in the book-production of the first two decades of the sixteenth century as a work of outstanding scholarly usefulness and of great factual accuracy.

CURT F. BÜHLER

The Pierpont Morgan Library

LEHMANN-HAUPT, HELLMUT. *The Life of the Book.* London and New York, Abelard-Schuman, [1957]. 240 pp. 8½ x 5¼ inches. $3.50.

According to a statement printed on the dust wrapper this work was written for young people, presumably those between the ages of twelve and twenty. However, as this latest book by Dr. Lehmann-Haupt may come to the attention of readers who are interested in the education of teen-agers, it is deserving of review in the PAPERS. Since the author has had a varied career in the field of books as teacher, author, editor, reviewer, bookseller and designer, he is eminently well qualified to present a work of this kind. In this work, he has included a great deal of essential (although brief) information about the origins, development and use of the book in something over two hundred pages, and used more than fifty illustrations which help to present the story. These illustrations are selected wisely, particularly the line drawings by that talented artist Fritz Kredel.

The ratio of text area to pictorial area in the book is approximately 170 pages to 40 pages, or a little over four to one, which indicates that the material for reading is not exhaustive, although the illustrations will undoubtedly serve to maintain the reader's interest and clarify some of the unfamiliar aspects of the historical and technical matters treated in a summary fashion.

The scope of the book seems quite inclusive, without limitations which are obvious in a volume deliberately written for the use of young readers. The contents are divided as follows: How Books are Written and Published (24 pp.); How Books are Printed and Designed (110 pp.); and How Books are Sold; How They are Read and Collected (67 pp.), with additional pages devoted to Suggested Books for Further Reading and an Index.

Certain minor errors and inaccuracies are listed below.

I. Misspellings: "Tipografica" for Bodoni's *Manuale Tipografico* in the list of Illustrations. The late Ruth S. Granniss appears as "Grannis" in the footnote on p. 210, although the name is spelled correctly in the Index

and on p. 203, while Chandler Grannis is "Graniss" on p. 232. The Curwen Press is misspelled "Curven" in the Index, where the Walters Art Gallery reads "Walter's." Struwwelpeter has the necessary second "w" in the Index, but a single "w" on p. 124. Molière has an acute accent.

II. Inaccuracies and ambiguities: The caption to an illustration on p. 62 refers to the terms "uncial" and "half uncial," but the text of the book does not define either of the words, although the terms "Carolingian minuscule" and "Roman square capital," also shown in the illustration, are defined briefly. The author indicates that a reproduction has been "reduced" or "greatly reduced" in some instances, but in several others no such information is included. Sometimes the note, "see illustration" followed by page number is given, but more often it is not. A line cut of "Bullock's Patent Rotary Perfecting Press" appears on p. 129, but no reference to Bullock's press is made in the text, nor any definition of a "perfecting press," although Richard Hoe's "Type Revolving Machine" is mentioned on this page. Thomas Bewick, whose name does not appear in the Index, is credited with the invention of the wood engraving process, on p. 121, but on pages 109 and 112 the author writes: "Thomas Bewick's new techniques of wood engraving restored to the half forgotten art of the woodcut a vitality which it has retained to the present day," perhaps a more acceptable estimate of Bewick's importance. At least two authorities have agreed that Bewick was probably the restorer of the long-lost art rather than the "inventor" (Ruzicka, *Thomas Bewick, Engraver* [The Typophiles, 1943], pp. 3-4; and Bland, *The Illustration of Books* [Pantheon Books, 1952], pp. 57-59).

Some readers will question the implication that the craft of manuscript illumination during the medieval period was "to a large extent practiced by artists who worked without pay" (p. 68), especially since the author states two pages later that "highly skilled scribes, and . . . illuminators of great artistic ability produced books of unrivalled dignity and beauty . . . usually created for an important patron. . . ." If our understanding of the term "patron" is correct this means that the artists received payment in cash or in kind. Practicing printers will be astonished to learn (p. 131) that "type set by hand today is called foundry type," although they have been handsetting Monotype faces for many years, and such type, though cast by machine, is not generally thought of in the trade as "foundry type." Not all type set by hand today can be called foundry type, even if we fail to include the less frequently used and uncommon wood types. Elsewhere (p. 115) the author, after discussing methods of publication in the late

eighteenth century, describes the subscription method of publication briefly, but does not indicate that this means of publication was not unknown, even in England, as early as the beginning of the seventeenth century. A well known example, Minsheu's *Guide into Tongues*, appeared as early as 1617—the first English book to be published by subscription.

III. Bibliography and footnotes. Of the twenty-two items included in the "Suggested Books for Further Reading" three omit the name of the publisher in the imprint, and these are all items written or edited by Dr. Lehmann-Haupt (p. 229). In the entries under Dard Hunter and McMurtrie, the first words of the titles are omitted; i.e. *Papermaking*, for the Hunter volume, and *The Book*, for the familiar McMurtrie opus. The reference to Harry Grosebeck's article in *The Dolphin*, should have quotation marks around the title (in roman), while the name of the journal should be in italics. Some might question the inclusion of Grosebeck's article, published in 1933, in the list. There are more recent contributions which explain in a brief manner, satisfactorily, certain technological developments which have been introduced since that time, many of which are standard today and represent techniques which should interest young readers.

In presenting information in footnotes, the book shows some variations from accepted forms. Three references are given for quotations attributed to three different persons (only one of whom is listed in the Index) taken from *The Book in America* (2nd edition), and the citation gives pp. 417-418, although all quoted material is printed on page 418. In this case, the volume from which the quotations are taken appears in the "Suggested Books" list, yet when references are made to the earlier (1939) edition of this book (pp. 203 and 210), the imprint information varies and the form of the name of the author cited (Miss Granniss) also varies (besides being misspelled) and the edition is not included in the list of "Suggested Books." In some instances, Dr. Lehmann-Haupt quotes from books and gives no footnotes (p. 214, from Wolfe's *The Hills Beyond*), or quotes from books cited in a footnote, but does not include the volume in the list of "Suggested Books," although some of the items mentioned only in footnotes may appear in the index. One item, by Ernestine Rose, *The Public Library in American Life*, is in the index under author *and* title, but *The Public Library Plans for the Teen Age* is neither in the Index nor in the "Suggested Books" list, and the footnote gives neither place of publication nor page where the quoted paragraph appeared. Two quotations are given from William Morris, on p. 138, but neither includes any informa-

tion as to place, date, publisher or page reference, and the items are not in the Index or in "Suggested Books."

In view of the statement on p. 181 ("A well-made index can be a great help to the reader, in first getting acquainted and also in subsequent reading or consultation of a volume. A typical general index is arranged alphabetically)", it is difficult to understand the example set in this book. The material listed under M is particularly non-alphabetical (i.e. Matisse and Maillol, in that order, preceding Magazine, Map-making after Mass media, Massachusetts before Manet). The author's own *Book in America* precedes Book Cafeteria (or does the Index pattern itself on the peculiar alphabetization used by The New York Public Library?). As to page references, spot checking revealed that more than six are in error, and at least a dozen of the words given in the index appear on other pages and are not listed. The Rhine River is included, but not the Nile. The *Encyclopedia* [sic] *Britannica* gets mention, but not the *Book of Knowledge*, which appears on p. 162. Sometimes the mention of the name of town in the text is referred to in the Index, as Munich for Senefelder, but not Newcastle for Bewick, on the same p. 121. *Titulus*, *omphalos*, *umbilicus* appear on p. 51, and *volumen* on p. 49, but not in the index.

The Linotype Janson used for the book is appropriate and readable; the double title page is confused, however, and exhibits the usual fetish of lower case and asymmetrical design. The page numbers given in the Contents and List of Illustrations follow immediately after the topics mentioned and hardly contribute to easy reading or reference; the separate pages designed to set off the sections are contra-traditional and are apparently meant to show the designer's versatile (or unusual) approach to a problem. The amount of "sinkage" used by the designer at heads of chapters will not please everybody. These minutiae need not trouble the minds of the young people who will read Dr. Lehmann-Haupt's pleasant and informative book. They can worry about style sheets later.

H. Richard Archer

The Chapin Library,
Williams College

Wiles, R. M. *Serial Publication in England before 1750*. Cambridge, At the University Press, 1957. 391 pp. 8⅜ by 5¼ inches. $9.50.

Competent works in the fields of bibliography and literary history appear not infrequently. But books on a branch of bibliography which has

never been treated are rare, and when one of these covers its field with such thoroughness that it leaves nothing further to be said, as this does, it must be saluted as extraordinary. By "serial publication" Professor Wiles means the issuing of books piecemeal over a period of time. He limits his survey to England and sets the terminal date of 1750. Other readers of his valuable work will feel as I do, that this latter limitation is regrettable.

There is an interesting chapter on "Series, Serials, and Supplements," which describes collections of plays, trials, treatises, etc., which were printed separately in series, and works published in instalments in newspapers or as supplements to them, but most of Professor Wiles's study concerns the publication of books in numbers which afterward were bound in one or more volumes as separate works. In explaining the issue in parts of both new and old books he gives much information about the English book-trade at an important time in its history. There is, for instance, an interesting chapter on the production, promotion and distribution of books in parts. Another goes into the matter of the profits realized from such publications; these were sometimes very considerable.

The author says in his preface: "This study will have its chief value as an account of a hitherto unrecognized stimulus to increased literacy among the lower and middle classes of the English people two centuries ago." Because books when issued serially could be paid for over a considerable period of time, the number of readers greatly increased among those who would not otherwise have been able to buy and read books at all. This innovation in book-publishing was introduced late in the seventeenth century, but only a few works were issued in numbers before 1700. Professor Wiles remarks: "It now seems surprising that no one had thought of the principle earlier, for it offered advantages to everyone concerned."

One of the most valuable parts of this study is its exact account of the works in great demand by large segments of ordinary readers, as distinguished from the "limited group of learned and professional men to whom good books were as necessary as food and air," and who therefore bought them no matter what they cost. This is not to say that such readers did not also buy the number-books. Well over three hundred works are listed, most with descriptive detail, in the ninety-page *Short-title Catalogue of Books Published in Fascicules before 1750*, one of the appendices in the book. Some names on the list are known only from contemporary mentions in newspapers; the actual books seem not to have survived. The many which still exist are not in their original number-form, but in bound

volumes, on the shelves of the larger public or private libraries. Knowledge that they were issued in parts, and information concerning the prices, number of parts, and the frequency of issue were obtained by the author from contemporary newspaper advertisements, trade-sale catalogues, and other records, both printed and in manuscript. The amount of research which must have been involved in compiling this check-list is more than impressive, it is downright terrifying.

In his preface the author comments on the amount of "dusty chaff" to be gone through before finding the wheat in this mass of books. It would indeed be a hardship to read some of the ponderous tomes. But many on the list are reprints and some of these are to be regarded as exceptions, since the names of Shakespeare, Cervantes, Milton, Horace, Ovid, Ralegh and Defoe appear as authors. On the other hand Foxe's *Book of Martyrs* and the complete works of Josephus, however esteemed, can not be considered exhilarating reading. *A general history . . . of the most famous Highwaymen, Murderers, Street Robbers . . . to which is added a genuine Account of the . . . most notorious Pyrates . . .* by Alexander Smith and Charles Johnson, 1734, and *An apology for the Conduct of Mrs. Theresia Constantia Phillips,* 1749 (which *does* exist in parts), while perhaps not to be recommended as literature, have nevertheless a certain attraction for the common reader.

In his chapter "For every Taste and Pocket," Professor Wiles makes a point of the wide diversity of types of literature to be found among the number books. Important as works of information are several translations. *The general History of America,* 1724, which is the first English edition of a part of the *Historia general de los hechos de los castellanos,* by Herrera y Tordesillas; Pitton de Tournefort's *The compleat Herbal,* 1718, translated from the Latin, with large additions; two different translations of Bayle's *Dictionary,* the first number of each appearing in 1733 and running to five and ten volumes respectively, are examples of scholarly works which were published in parts. The backers of the two last-named works almost came to blows, so intense was their rivalry. A notable instance among native works of a useful kind is Elizabeth Blackwell's *A curious Herbal,* 1737-1739, with its "500 superb original plates," popular in its day, and still, especially in the enlarged translation into Latin, 1757-1773, much esteemed by collectors of botanical works.

Several restrictions in the check-list are somewhat puzzling. The author decided to exclude all books appearing in fewer than four numbers and at intervals of more than one month. But why not set the limit at

three numbers and the interval at two or even three months? Some works have appeared serially at longer intervals than three months, and even at very irregular periods, but are they not still books in parts? Neither can it be denied that, for instance, Longfellow's *Outre-mer* is a book in parts though it consists of two numbers only; part 1 appeared in 1833 and part 2 in 1834. And it is not clear to me why the author excluded from the check-list the *Tatler* and the *Spectator*, which were printed in numbers from 1709-1711 and from 1711-1712. Is it because the series of essays by Joseph Addison and Richard Steele are classified as newspapers and therefore inadmissible? But in reading these two books who doubts that they are actually unified works, with a soul of their own, just as much as *The Essays of Elia*? However, these small objections are trivial when measured against the general excellence of Professor Wiles's book.

SARAH A. DICKSON

The New York Public Library

DICKINSON, EMILY. *Riddle Poems* [by] Emily Dickinson [Northampton, Mass.], The Gehenna Press, 1957. 48 pp. 6 x 5 inches. $5.00. Edition of 200 copies.*

The ink was hardly dry on Jacob Blanck's second volume of his monumental *Bibliography of American Literature*, containing the Emily Dickinson material, when a new edition of her poems was published. As this book is based, however, on poetry previously printed, it would be listed in Blanck under "Reprints."

While not an important contribution to Emily Dickinson literature,

* *Collation*: [1]-[48] pp. as follows (all pages unnumbered): [1]-[4] blank; [5] title-page as above; [6] blank; [7] dedication: *For Jay Leyda*; [8] blank; [9] introductory verse: The Riddle that we guess | (4-line poem enclosed within a decorated rule in red); [10] explanatory note: *The solutions appear on the page following the riddle.* |; [11]-[38] text on right-hand pages (one poem to a page, each enclosed within a decorated rule in red), solutions on verso; [39]-[40] blank; [41] publisher's device (in red), notices of limitation of edition, printing and press-work, copy number, printers' signature (Esther & Leonard Baskin), printer's device (Richard Warren), notice of copyright permission; [42] blank; [43] full-page device: ·E·L·B· | (tree with leaves and fruit in red) | GEHENNA PRESS |; [44]-[48] blank.

Issued in greenish gray paper-covered boards. White paper label on front cover, printed: RIDDLE POEMS | EMILY DICKINSON | (The whole enclosed within a decorated rule in red). White paper label on spine, printed in red (reading upwards): EMILY DICKINSON · RIDDLE POEMS |. Top edge trimmed; fore and bottom edges untrimmed.

Riddle Poems is a charming little collector's item containing 15 verses from Thomas H. Johnson's edition of her poetry. They are his numbers 1222, 1337, 391, 884, 1332, 140, 1397, 1468, 1463, 228, 1669, 517, 1114, 311, and 221, in that order; and they follow his readings, spelling, capitalization, and punctuation, except in the following instances: in six *Riddle Poems* no stanza breaks are indicated (Johnson has such breaks); in the first poem, "The Riddle that we guess," line 1 is an alternate reading (Johnson gives the line in a note); in the fifth poem, "Pink—small—and punctual—," line 3 should have a dash after "Covert"; the eighth poem, "A winged spark doth soar about—," should have a line 9 (Johnson prints it, "Rekindled by some action quaint," with a note that it may be an alternative for line 5); in the ninth poem, "A Route of Evanescence," line 8 should have a dash after "Ride"; in the twelfth poem, "He parts Himself—like Leaves—," line 4 should capitalize "any"; in the thirteenth poem, "The largest Fire ever known," line 8 should have no period after "again"; the fifteenth poem, "It can't be 'Summer'!" spells "can't" in lines 1 and 6 with an apostrophe (Johnson gives it as "cant" in both places).

Printed by Esther and Leonard Baskin and Richard Warren at the Gehenna Press in Northampton, Massachusetts, the 200 copies are signed by the Baskins, who presumably did the selecting and editing of these riddles.[1] To guess each riddle is more tricky than difficult: one must catch on to Emily Dickinson's highly individual way of saying things. To paraphrase a remark from George Orwell's *Animal Farm*, "All poets are unique. Some are more unique than others." This uniqueness is what *Riddle Poems* captures. The little book was hardly designed to add to Emily Dickinson scholarship: it is for the collector to enjoy and the bibliographer to list among the Dickinson reprints—perhaps the first to come from Professor Johnson's definitive edition.

William White

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[1] Mr. Baskin has written me that the selections were made by Jay Leyda, whose *Days and Hours of Emily Dickinson* will be issued in the Fall by the Yale University Press.

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* Volume One of the *Bibliography of American Literature*, compiled by Jacob Blanck for the Bibliographical Society of America (New Haven, Yale University Press; London, Oxford University Press, 1955), did not contain a list of its authors, an omission supplied for Volume Two (1957, p. ix). The above is printed in the belief that owners of Volume One may wish to insert it in their copies. (William White.)